

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

VOL. I.

HISTORY

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA



J. Graham

THE
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HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
FROM THE
PLANTATION OF THE BRITISH COLONIES
TILL
THEIR ASSUMPTION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

By JAMES GRAHAME, LL. D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND AMENDED.

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PREFACE

TO THE

AMERICAN EDITION.

IN December, 1842, the undersigned was appointed by the Massachusetts Historical Society "to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Grahame, the historian of the United States," who had been one of its corresponding members. In fulfilment of that duty, he entered into a correspondence with Mr. Grahame's family and European friends, in the course of which he learned that Mr. Grahame had left, at his death, a corrected and enlarged copy of his "History of the United States of North America," and had expressed, among his last wishes, an earnest hope that it might be published in the form which it had finally assumed under his hand.

This information having been communicated to Mr. Justice Story, Messrs. James Savage, Jared Sparks, and William H. Prescott, they concurred in the opinion, that it "scarcely comported with American feelings, interest, or self-respect to permit a work of so much laborious research and merit, written in a faithful and elevated spirit, and relating to our own history, to want an American edition, embracing the last additions and corrections of its deceased author." Influenced by considerations of this kind, those gentlemen, in connection with the undersigned, undertook the office of promoting and superintending the publication of the work in its enlarged and amended form. A copy, prepared from that left by the author, was accordingly placed at their disposal by his son,

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Gift of Mrs. A. F. Morrison 3-27-43 42.

Robert Grahame, Esq. ; who subsequently transmitted the original, also, to be deposited in the library of Harvard University. The supervision of the work, during its progress through the press, devolved on the undersigned, — a charge which he has executed with as thorough fidelity to Mr. Grahame and the public as its nature and his official engagements have permitted.

A wish having been intimated by the son of Mr. Grahame, that the Memoir, prepared at the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, should be prefixed to the American edition of the History, it has been acceded to. The principal materials for this Memoir — consisting of extracts from Mr. Grahame's diary and correspondence, accompanied by interesting notices of his sentiments and character — were furnished by his highly accomplished widow, his son-in-law, John Stewart, Esq., and his friend, Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., who had maintained with him from early youth an uninterrupted intimacy. Robert Walsh, Esq., the present American consul at Paris, well known and appreciated in this country and in Europe for his moral worth and literary eminence, who had enjoyed the privilege of an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Grahame, also transmitted many of his letters. Like favors were received from William H. Prescott, Esq., and the Rev. George E. Ellis. In the use of these materials, the endeavour has been, as far as possible, to make Mr. Grahame's own language the expositor of his mind and motives.

The portrait prefixed to this work is from an excellent painting by Healy, engraved with great fidelity by Andrews, one of our most eminent artists ; the cost both of the painting and the engraving having been defrayed by several American citizens, who interested themselves in the success of the present undertaking.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

CAMBRIDGE, September 9, 1845.

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES GRAHAME, LL. D.

JAMES GRAHAME, the subject of this Memoir, was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 21st of December, 1790, of a family distinguished, in its successive generations, by intellectual vigor and attainments, united with a zeal for civil liberty, chastened and directed by elevated religious sentiment.

His paternal grandfather, Thomas Grahame, was eminent for piety, generosity, and talent. Presiding in the Admiralty Court, at Glasgow, he is said to have been the first British judge who decreed the liberation of a negro slave brought into Great Britain, on the ground, that "a guiltless human being, in that country, *must* be free"; a judgment preceding by some years the celebrated decision of Lord Mansfield on the same point. In the war for the independence of the United States, he was an early and uniform opponent of the pretensions and policy of Great Britain; declaring, in the very commencement of the contest, that "it was like the controversy of Athens with Syracuse, and he was persuaded it would end in the same way."

He died in 1791, at the age of sixty, leaving two sons, Robert and James. Of these, the youngest, James, was esteemed for his moral worth, and admired for his genius; delighting his friends and companions by the readiness and playfulness of his wit, and commanding the reverence of all who knew him, by the purity of a life under the guidance of

an ever active religious principle. He was the author of a poem entitled "The Sabbath," which, admired on its first publication, still retains its celebrity among the minor effusions of the poetic genius of Britain.

Robert, the elder of the sons of Thomas Grahame, and father of the subject of this Memoir, inheriting the virtues of his ancestors, and imbued with their spirit, has sustained, through a long life, not yet terminated, the character of a uniform friend of liberty. His zeal in its cause rendered him, at different periods, obnoxious to the suspicions of the British government. When the ministry attempted to control the expression of public opinion by the prosecution of Horne Tooke, a secretary of state's warrant was issued against him ; from the consequences of which he was saved through the acquittal of Tooke by a London jury. When Castlereagh's ascendant policy had excited the people of Scotland to a state of revolt, and several persons were prosecuted for high treason, whose poverty prevented them from engaging the best counsel, he brought down, at his own charge, for their defence, distinguished English lawyers from London, they being deemed better acquainted than those of Scotland with the law of high treason ; and the result was the acquittal of the persons indicted. He sympathized with the Americans in their struggle for independence, and rejoiced in their success. Regarding the French Revolution as a shoot from the American stock, he hailed its progress in its early stages with satisfaction and hope. So long as its leaders restricted themselves to argument and persuasion, he was their adherent and advocate ; but withdrew his countenance, when they resorted to terror and violence.

By his profession as writer to the signet¹ he acquired fortune and eminence. Though distinguished for public and private worth and well directed talent, his political course excluded him from official power and distinction, until 1833, when,

¹ An attorney.

after the passage of the Reform Bill, he was unanimously chosen, at the age of seventy-four, without any canvass or solicitation on his part, at the first election under the reformed constituency, Lord Provost of Glasgow. His character is not without interest to the American people ; for his son, whose respect for his talents and virtues fell little short of admiration, acknowledges that it was his father's suggestion and encouragement which first turned his thoughts to writing the history of the United States.

Under such paternal influences, James Grahame, our historian, was early imbued with the spirit of liberty. His mind became familiarized with its principles and their limitations. Even in boyhood, his thoughts were directed towards that Transatlantic people whose national existence was the work of that spirit, and whose institutions were framed with an express view to maintain and perpetuate it.

His early education was domestic. A French emigrant priest taught him the first elements of learning. He then passed through the regular course of instruction at the Grammar School of Glasgow, and afterwards attended the classes at the University in that city. In both he was distinguished by his proficiency. After pursuing a preparatory course in geometry and algebra, hearing the lectures of Professor Playfair, and reviewing his former studies under private tuition, he entered, about his twentieth year, St. John's College, Cambridge. But his connection with the University was short. In an excursion during one of the vacations, he formed an attachment to the lady whom he afterwards married ; becoming, in consequence, desirous of an early establishment in life, he terminated abruptly his academical connections, and commenced a course of professional study preparatory to his admission to the Scottish bar.

At Cambridge he had the happiness to form an acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, with Mr. Herschel, now

known to the world as Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., and by the high rank he sustains among the astronomers of Europe. Concerning this friendship Mr. Grahame thus writes in his diary :—“ It has always been an ennobling tie. We have been the friends of each other’s souls and of each other’s virtue, as well as of each other’s person and success. He was of St. John’s College, as well as I. Many a day we passed in walking together, and many a night in studying together.” Their intimacy continued unbroken through Mr. Grahame’s life.

In June, 1812, Mr. Grahame was admitted to the Scottish bar as an advocate, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession. It seems, however, not to have been suited to his taste ; for about this time he writes, — “ Until now, I have been my own master, and I now resign my independence for a service I dislike.” His assiduity was, nevertheless, unremitted, and was attended with satisfactory success ; indicative, in the opinion of his friends, of ultimate professional eminence.

In October, 1813, he married Matilda Robley, of Stoke Newington, a pupil of Mrs. Barbauld ; who, in a letter to a friend, wrote concerning her, — “ She is by far one of the most charming women I have ever known. Young, beautiful, amiable, and accomplished ; with a fine fortune. She is going to be married to a Mr. Grahame, a young Scotch barrister. I have the greatest reluctance to part with this precious treasure, and can only hope that Mr. Grahame is worthy of so much happiness.”

All the anticipations justified by Mrs. Barbauld’s exalted estimate of this lady were realized by Mr. Grahame. He found in this connection a stimulus and a reward for his professional exertions. “ Love and ambition,” he writes to his friend Herschel, soon after his marriage, “ unite to incite my industry. My reputation and success rapidly increase, and I

see clearly that only perseverance is wanting to possess me of all the bar can afford." And again, at a somewhat later period, — "You can hardly fancy the delight I felt the other day, on hearing the Lord President declare that one of my printed pleadings was most excellent. Yet, although you were more ambitious than I am, you could not taste the full enjoyment of professional success, without a wife to heighten your pleasure, by sympathizing in it."

Soon after Mr. Grahame's marriage, the religious principle took predominating possession of his mind. Its depth and influence were early indicated in his correspondence. As the impression had been sudden, his friends anticipated it would be temporary. But it proved otherwise. From the bent which his mind now received it never afterwards swerved. His general religious views coincided with those professed by the early Puritans and the Scotch Covenanters; but they were sober, elevated, expansive, and free from narrowness and bigotry. Though his temperament was naturally ardent and excitable, he was exempt from all tendency to extravagance or intolerance. His religious sensibilities were probably quickened by an opinion, which the feebleness of his physical constitution led him early to entertain, that his life was destined to be of short duration. In a letter to Herschel, about this period, he writes, — "I have a horror of deferring labor; and also such fancies or presentiments of a short life, that I often feel I cannot afford to trust fate for a day. I know of no other mode of *creating time*, if the expression be allowable, than to make the most of every moment."

Mr. Grahame's mind, naturally active and discursive, could not be circumscribed within the sphere of professional avocations. It was early engaged on topics of general literature. He began, in 1814, to write for the Reviews, and his labors in this field indicate a mind thoughtful, fixed, and comprehensive, uniting great assiduity in research with an invinci-

ble spirit of independence. In 1816, he sharply assailed Malthus, on the subject of "Population, Poverty, and the Poor-laws," in a pamphlet which was well received by the public, and passed through two editions. In this pamphlet he evinces his knowledge of American affairs by frequently alluding to them and by quoting from the works of Dr. Franklin. Mr. Grahame was one of the few to whom Malthus condescended to reply, and a controversy ensued between them in the periodical publications of the day. In the year 1817, his religious prepossessions were manifested in an animated "Defence of the Scottish Presbyterians and Covenanters against the Author of 'The Tales of my Landlord'"; these productions being regarded by him "as an attempt to hold up to contempt and ridicule those Scotchmen, who, under a galling temporal tyranny and spiritual persecution, fled from their homes and comforts, to worship, in the secrecy of deserts and wastes, their God, according to the dictates of their conscience; the genius of the author being thus exerted to falsify history and confound moral distinctions." Mr. Grahame also published, anonymously, several pamphlets on topics of local interest; "all," it is said, "distinguished for elegance and learning." In mature life, when time and the habit of composition had chastened his taste and improved his judgment,—his opinions, also, on some topics having changed,—he was accustomed to look back on his early writings with little complacency, and the severity with which he applied self-criticism led him to express a hope that all memory of these publications might be obliterated. Although some of them, perhaps, are not favorable specimens of his ripened powers, they are far from meriting the oblivion to which he would have consigned them.

In the course of this year (1817), Mr. Grahame's eldest daughter died,—an event so deeply afflictive to him, as to induce an illness which endangered his life. In the year ensu-

ing, he was subjected to the severest of all bereavements in the death of his wife, who had been the object of his unlimited confidence and affection. The effect produced on Mr. Grahame's mind by this succession of afflictions is thus noticed by his son-in-law, John Stewart, Esq.:—"Hereafter the chief characteristic of his journal is deep religious feeling pervading it throughout. It is full of religious meditations, tempering the natural ardor of his disposition; presenting curious and instructive records, at the same time showing that these convictions did not prevent him from mingling as heretofore in general society. It also evidences that all he there sees, the events passing around him, the most ordinary occurrences of his own life, are subjected to another test,—are constantly referred to a religious standard, and weighed by Scripture principles. The severe application of these to himself,—to self-examination,—is as remarkable as his charitable application of them in his estimate of others."

To alleviate the distress consequent on his domestic bereavements, Mr. Grahame extended the range of his intellectual pursuits. In 1819, he writes,—“I have been for several weeks engaged in the study of Hebrew; and, having mastered the first difficulties, the language will be my own in a few months. I am satisfied with what I have done. No exercise of the mind is wholly lost, even when not prosecuted to the end originally contemplated.”

For several years succeeding the death of his wife, his literary and professional labors were much obstructed by precarious health and depressed spirits. His diary during this period indicates an excited moral watchfulness, and is replete with solemn and impressive thoughts. Thus, in April, 1821, he remarks,—“In writing a law-pleading to-day, I was struck with what I have often before reflected on, the subtle and dangerous temptations that our profession presents to us of varnishing and disguising the conduct and views of

our clients, — of mending the natural complexion of a case, filling up its gaps and rounding its sharp corners.” And in October following, — “Why is it that the creatures so often disappoint us, and that the fruition of them is sometimes attended with satiety? We try to make them more to us than God has fitted them to be. Such attempts must ever be in vain. We do not enjoy them as the gifts and refreshments afforded us by God, and in subordination to his will and purpose in giving. If we did so, our use would be humble, grateful, moderate, and happy. The good that God puts in them is bounded; but when that is drawn off, their highest sweetness and best use may be found in the testimony they afford of his exhaustless love and goodness.” And again, in February, 1822, — “We are all travelling to the grave, — but in very different attitudes; — some feasting and jesting, some fasting and praying; some eagerly and anxiously struggling for things temporal, some humbly seeking things eternal.”

An excursion into the Low Countries, undertaken for the benefit of his health, in 1823, enabled Mr. Grahame to gratify his “strong desire to become acquainted with *extrema vestigia* of the ancient Dutch habits and manners.” In this journey he enjoyed the hospitalities, at Lisle, of its governor, Marshal Cambronne, and formed an intimacy with that noble veteran, which, through the correspondence of their sympathies and principles, ripened into a friendship that terminated only with life itself.

About this period he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and soon after began seriously to contemplate writing the history of the United States of North America. Early education, religious principle, and a native earnestness in the cause of civil liberty concurred to incline his mind to this undertaking. He was reared, as we have seen, under the immediate eye of a father who had been an early and uniform advocate of the principles which led to American

independence. In 1810, while yet but on the threshold of manhood, his admiration of the illustrious men who were distinguished in the American Revolution was evinced by the familiarity with which he spoke of their characters or quoted from their writings. The names of Washington and Franklin were ever on his lips, and his chief source of delight was in American history.¹ This interest was intensely increased by the fact, that religious views, in many respects coinciding with his own, had been the chief moving cause of one of the earliest and most successful of the emigrations to North America, and had exerted a material effect on the structure of the political institutions of the United States. These combined influences elevated his feelings to a state of enthusiasm on the subject of American history, and led him to regard it as "the noblest in dignity, the most comprehensive in utility, and the most interesting in progress and event, of all the subjects of thought and investigation." In June, 1824, he remarks in his journal, — "I have had some thoughts of writing the history of North America, from the period of its colonization from Europe till the Revolution and the establishment of the republic. The subject seems to me grand and noble. It was not a thirst of gold or of conquest, but piety and virtue, that laid the foundation of those settlements. The soil was not made by its planters a scene of vice and crime, but of manly enterprise, patient industry, good morals, and happiness deserving universal sympathy. The Revolution was not promoted by infidelity, nor stained by cruelty, as in France; nor was the fair cause of Freedom betrayed and abandoned, as in both France and England. The share that religious men had in accomplishing the American Revolution is a matter well deserving inquiry, but leading, I fear, into very difficult discussion."

Although his predilections for the task were strong, it is

¹ Sir John F. W. Herschel's letters.

apparent that he engaged in it with many doubts and after frequent misgivings. Nor did he conceal from himself the peculiar difficulties of the undertaking. The elements of the proposed history, he perceived, were scattered, broken, and confused ; differently affecting and affected by thirteen independent sovereignties ; and chiefly to be sought in local tracts and histories, hard to be obtained, and often little known, even in America, beyond the scenes in which they had their origin, and on which their light was reflected. It was a work which must absorb many years of his life, and task all his faculties. Not only considerations like these, but also the extent of the outline, and the number and variety of details embraced in his design, oppressed and kept in suspense a mind naturally sensitive and self-distrustful. Having at length become fixed in his purpose, — chiefly, there is reason to believe, through the predominating influence of his religious feelings and views, — on the 4th of December, 1824, he writes in his journal, — “ After long, profound, and anxious deliberation, and much preparatory research and inquiry, I began the continuous (for so I mean it) composition of the history of the United States of North America. This pursuit, whether I succeed in it or not, must ever attract my mind by the powerful consideration, that it was first suggested to me in conversation with my father, Mr. Clarkson, and Mr. Dillwyn.” And, at a subsequent date, — “ May God (whom I have invoked in the work) bless, direct, and prosper my undertaking ! The surest way to execute it well is to regard it always as a service of body and spirit to God ; that the end may shed its light on the means.”¹ In the same spirit, he writes to Mr. Herschel, on the 31st of December, — “ For a considerable time I have

¹ A manuscript journal of the progress of this History, including the authorities consulted, was sent by Mr. Grahame, in the year 1835, to the President of Harvard College, and was deposited in the library of that institution, to which it now belongs. It is one of the documents used in the preparation of this Memoir.

been meditating a great literary work, and, after much preparatory reading, reflection, and note-writing, have at length begun it. If I continue it, as I hope to do, it will absorb much of my time and mind for many years. It is a history of North America,—the most interesting historical subject, I think, a human pen ever undertook. I have always thought the labors of the historian the first in point of literary dignity and utility. History is every thing. Religion, science, literature, whatever men do or think, falls within the scope of history. I ardently desire to make it a religious work, and, in writing, to keep the chief end of man mainly in view. Thus, I hope, the nobleness of the end I propose may impart a dignity to the means.”

The undertaking, once commenced, was prosecuted with characteristic ardor and untiring industry. All the time which professional avocations left to him was devoted to this his favorite field of exertion. His labors were continued always until midnight, and often until three or four o'clock in the morning, and he became impatient of every other occupation. But late hours, long sittings, and intense application soon seriously affected his health, and symptoms of an overstrained constitution gradually began to appear. Of this state of mind, and of these effects of his labors on his health, his letters give continual evidence. “I am becoming increasingly wedded to my historical work, and proportionally averse to the bar and forensic practice. At half past three this morning I desist, from motives of prudence (tardily operating, it must be confessed) rather than from weariness.” — “Sick or well, my History is the most interesting and absorbing employment I have ever found. It is a noble subject.”¹

By application thus active and incessant, the first volume of his work, comprehending the history of the settlement of

¹ Letters to Herschel, January and February, 1825.

Virginia and New England, was so nearly completed early in the ensuing May, as to admit of his then opening a negotiation for its publication. In a letter to Longman, his bookseller, Mr. Grahame expresses in the strongest terms his devotedness to the undertaking, and adds, — “Every day my purpose becomes stronger to abandon every other pursuit, in order to devote to this my whole time and attention.”

He now immediately set about collecting materials for his second volume. Having ascertained that in England it was impossible to obtain books essential to the success of his historical researches, and that rich treasures in the department of American history were deposited at Göttingen, he undertook a journey to that city, and found in its library many very valuable materials for his work. To these resources his attention had been directed by Sir William Hamilton, whose “unwearied labors in supplying him with information on the subject of his historical work, and whose interest in its success,” he gratefully acknowledges in his letters; adding, — “To him nothing is indifferent that concerns literature, or the interests of his friends.” During Mr. Grahame’s short residence on the continent of Europe, his mother, to whom he was tenderly attached, died; and he returned to England in the following September (1825) under a heavy depression of spirits. He resumed, however, his favorite labors, but, in consequence of the failure of his health, was soon obliged to desist.

“The latter part of 1825 and the beginning of 1826,” his friend Herschel states, “was passed by Mr. Grahame in London, under pressure of severe and dangerous as well as painful illness, the exhausting and debilitating effects of which were probably never obliterated from his constitution, and which made it necessary for him to seek safety in a milder climate than that of Scotland. Thither, however, he for a while returned, but only to write in a strain like the following :

— ‘ Whitehill, April 24, 1826. My bodily health is nearly reëstablished ; but my mind is in a wretched state of feebleness and languor, and indifference to almost every thing. My History is completely at a stand. The last month has been the most disagreeable of my life. If I am not to undergo some great change in the state of my faculties, I do sincerely hope my life may not be long. My discontent and uneasiness are, however, mitigated by the thought, that our condition is appointed by God, and that there must be duties attached to it, and some degree of happiness connected with the performance of those duties. Surely, the highest duty and happiness of a created being must arise from a willing subservience to the designs of the Creator.’ ”

Being apprized by his physicians that an abode in Scotland during another winter would probably prove fatal to him, he transferred his residence to the South of England, and thenceforth, abandoning his profession of advocate, devoted himself exclusively to the completion of his historical work, as appears by the following entry in his diary : — “ March, 1826. Edinburgh. I am now preparing to strike my tent, that is, dissolve my household and depart for ever from this place ; my physicians requiring me not to pass another winter in the climate of Scotland. I quit my profession without regret, having little liked and greatly neglected it ever since I undertook the history of America, to which I shall be glad to devote uninterruptedly all my energies, as soon as I succeed in re-collecting them.”

His journal bears continued testimony to the deep interest he took in every thing American, and the philosophic views which he applied to the condition and duties of the people of the United States. — “ American writers are too apt to accept the challenge of Europeans to competitions quite unsuitable to their country. Themistocles neither envied nor emulated the boast of the flute-player, to whose challenge he

answered : ‘ I cannot, indeed, play the flute like you ; but I can transform a small village into a great city.’ From evils of which America is happily ignorant there arise some partially compensating advantages, which she may very well dispense with. Titular nobility and standing armies, for example, develop politeness and honor (not honor of the purest and noblest kind) among a few, at the expense of depraving and depressing vast multitudes. Great inequalities of wealth, the bondage of the lower classes, have adorned European realms with splendid castles and cathedrals, at the expense of lodging the mass of society in garrets and hovels. If American writers should succeed in persuading their countrymen to study and assert equality with Europeans, in dramatic entertainments, in smooth polish of manners, and in those arts which profess to enable men to live idly and uselessly, without wearying, they will form a taste inconsistent with just discernment and appreciation of their political institutions. Vespasian destroyed the palace of Nero, as a monument of luxury and pernicious to morals. The absence of such palaces as Trianon and Marly may well be compensated by exemption from such tyranny as the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which was coeval with their erection.”

Of Mrs. Trollope’s “ Domestic Manners of the Americans,” and her depreciating view of “ the society which he regarded with love, admiration, and hope,” he thus writes in a subsequent page of his journal : — “ What is truth ? Is it not as much in the position of the observer as in the condition of the observed ? Mrs. Trollope seems to me full-fraught with the most pitiful vulgarities of aristocratical ignorance and pretension ; and these would naturally invite the shock of what she seems to have met with in the antipathy of democratic insolence and coarseness ; — she is Basil Hall in petticoats. Think of such a brace of pragmatical pretenders and adventurers as he and she, sitting in judgment on America ! ”

It is impossible not to remark the delight his mind took in any associations connected with America. "At the printing-office of Messrs. Strahan and Spottiswoode," he writes, "I corrected a proof-sheet of my History of North America, sitting within the walls of that establishment where Franklin once was a workman." Again, at Kensington :—"I delight to stroll amid the sombre grandeur of these gardens. The lofty height and deep shade of these magnificent trees inspire a pleasing, solemn, half-melancholy gloom. Here Penn and Addison walked. Here Rousseau, when in England, was wont to sit and muse. Sometimes, in spirit, I meet their spirits here."

The first two volumes of his work, bringing the narrative down to the period of the English Revolution, being at length completed, were in February, 1827, published. But Mr. Grahame was now destined to sustain a severe disappointment. His History was received with little interest by the British public, and by all the greater Reviews with neglect. The Edinburgh, the Quarterly, and the Foreign Quarterly maintained towards it an ominous silence. Some of the minor Reviews, indeed, noticed it with qualified approbation. For Englishmen the colonial history of the United States had but few attractions; and the spirit in which Mr. Grahame had treated the subject was not calculated to gratify their national pride. He was thought to have "drunk too deep of the spirit of the Puritans"; it was said that his "hatred of tyranny had terminated in aversion to monarchy,"—that towards the church of England "his feelings were fanatical," towards the church of Rome "illiberal and intolerant."

Conscious of the labor he had bestowed upon it, and of the fidelity with which it was executed, Mr. Grahame was not disheartened by the chilling reception his work met with from the British public, nor deterred from pursuing his original design; the conviction predominating in his mind, that sooner

or later it would conciliate public esteem. Accordingly, in the autumn of the same year in which his first two volumes were published, he not only commenced their revision, but began an extension of his History to the period of the declaration of American independence. His interest in his subject evidently increased. "American history," he writes, "is my favorite field." — "I am averse to all other occupation." — "I am pleased to gather from any quarter wherewith to decorate my beloved North America." — "God bless the people and institutions of North America ! So prays their warm friend, and obscure, but industrious, historian."

About this time, through the kindness of James Chalmers, nephew of the late George Chalmers, he obtained admission to the library of that distinguished American annalist. The treasures there opened to him rekindled his zeal, and he renewed his historical labors with an intense assiduity, ill comports with the critical state of his health. Apprehending a fatal termination of his disease, his medical advisers urged him to pass the ensuing winter at the island of Madeira ; and thither his friend Herschel, through anxiety for his life, offered to accompany him. But no consideration could induce him to leave England, where alone the researches which occupied his mind could be pursued with advantage ; and for the purpose of availing himself of the books on American history which London afforded, he established himself in the vicinity of that city.

In May, 1828, Mr. Grahame visited Paris, accompanied by his father, who introduced him to La Fayette. "I was received," he writes, "by this venerable and illustrious man with the greatest kindness. His face expresses grave, mild, peaceful worth, the calm consciousness and serene satisfaction of virtue. I was charmed with his dignified simplicity, his mild but generous benevolence, and the easy, gentle, superior sense and virtue of his thinking." From Paris, Mr. Grahame travelled with his father along the banks of the Loire, visited

Nantes, renewed his acquaintance with Marshal and Madame Cambronne, and spent some days in their family. "The modest, simple, chivalrous character of Marshal Cambronne," says Mr. Stewart, "attracted Mr. Grahame's esteem and admiration, and strengthened those ties of mutual interest and attachment which their former intercourse had originated."

Returning to the neighbourhood of London in June following, his health recruited by his excursion, he immediately resumed, with characteristic ardor, his favorite historical pursuits. At this time the Catholic emancipation question strongly agitated the British nation, and Mr. Grahame's ardent love of liberty and religious toleration excited in him a keen interest in the success of this measure. Having found the climate of Nantes adapted to his constitution, and enabling him, as he expressed himself, "to labor night and day at his historical work," he returned to that city in October of the same year, and fixed his residence there during the ensuing winter and spring.

In May, 1829, on his homeward journey, he passed through Paris, again visited La Fayette, and saw him in the midst of his family, "surrounded," he writes, "by a troop of friends, some of distinguished character and aspect, and all regarding him with respect and admiration. Thus serene is the evening of his troubled but glorious life." Mr. Grahame adds:—"I had the honor and happiness of long and most interesting conversations with him, respecting the origin and commencement of his connection with the American cause. Nothing could be more friendly, kind, or benevolent than his manners; nothing more instructive, entertaining, or interesting than the conversation he bestowed upon me. How mild, wise, and good La Fayette is! Mr. Clarkson described him to me as *a man who desires the happiness of the human race, in consistence with strict subservience to the cause of truth and the honor of God.* I deem this a very honorable diploma.

In the company of La Fayette, I feel an elevation of spirit and expansion of heart. What a roll of great deeds, heroic virtues, and interesting scenes is engraven on the lines of the venerable face of *the prisoner of Olmütz!*”

From these and other conversations Mr. Grahame acknowledges that he derived the materials for various passages in the text and notes of the fourth volume of his History of the United States. This work he finished in December, 1829. The intense labor which he had applied to its completion brought on a severe nervous fever, which, for a short time, threatened a fatal result.

In April, 1830, Mr. Grahame was married, at Nantes, to Jane A. Wilson, daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the Protestant pastor of that city. Concerning this connection, John Stewart, Esq., his son-in-law, thus writes:—“From this period till his death, Mr. Grahame’s home was at Nantes; and in the society of his pious, amiable, and accomplished wife, and under her tender and vigilant care, Mr. Grahame enjoyed a degree of tranquil happiness and renewed health to which he had been long a stranger;—interrupted only, at times, by his tendency to excessive literary exertion; but at a later period more seriously and permanently, by the dangerous, lingering, and almost hopeless illness of his daughter. Between Mr. and Mrs. Grahame existed the most devoted attachment, based upon a complete appreciation of and profound esteem for each other’s qualities and principles. They were both interesting, even in appearance; tall and well proportioned;—their features bearing the impress of a happy seriousness, while their demeanour evinced that peculiarly attractive stamp of real gentility which Christian principles add to natural good-breeding.”

After his marriage, Mr. Grahame resided for several years at L’Eperonnière, an ancient chateau in the environs of Nantes; Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the aged parents of his wife, being in-

mates of his family. "Through their long standing connections," continues Mr. Stewart, "Mr. Grahame found himself at once in the best French society of Nantes. There the worth of his character soon made itself respected. The interest he took in every thing affecting the welfare of the city (to which, if necessary, he was accustomed liberally to subscribe), the urbanity of his demeanour in his intercourse with individuals, united with the generosity of his disposition, soon caused him to be regarded more in the light of a fellow-citizen than as a stranger ; and in process of time all such local distinctions as his numerous friends could bestow upon him, or induce him to accept, were conferred on him. The influence he thus acquired was chiefly and successfully exerted in the support of the small but increasing church professing the Protestant faith at Nantes. To several Frenchmen residing at Nantes Mr. Grahame became warmly attached ; but though his spirit of general benevolence led him to take a warm interest in those among whom he lived, and notwithstanding he saw much among the French to admire and respect, yet the character of his mind and habits, staid, serious, and retired, did not permit his feelings towards that country to approach to any thing like the warmth of his affection and admiration for either America or England."

Although Mr. Grahame had finished writing his History in December, 1829, he was far from regarding it as ready for the press. He attributed the ill success of his first two volumes to the haste with which they had been published ; he therefore resolved to devote several years to the revision of the entire work, and often expressed a doubt of its publication in his lifetime.

Nearly four years had now elapsed since the appearance of Mr. Grahame's volumes, yet the general silence concerning them had not been broken by any voice from this side of the Atlantic. The high price of the English edition rendered any

considerable circulation in this country hopeless ; and American editors were yet to learn that it was possible for a foreigner and a Briton to treat the early history of the United States with fairness and impartiality. The knowledge of the nature and true value of this composition was confined to a few individuals. At length, in January, 1831, a just and discriminating critical notice of the work appeared in the *North American Review*. After expressing regret at the neglect with which it had hitherto been treated in America, and pointing out the causes of the little interest it had excited in this country, the reviewer proceeds to do justice to the independent spirit of the author ; to his freedom from prejudice ; to “ the happy discrimination he had manifested in the selection of the leading principles that led to the colonization of the several States, and the able exposition of the results that followed ” ; and to his having “ corrected, with a proper boldness, the mistakes, whether of ignorance or malignity, which his predecessors in the same labors had committed.” The reviewer adds, — “ Mr. Grahame, with a spirit able to appreciate the value of his subject, has published what we conceive to be the best book that has anywhere appeared, upon the early history of the United States.” “ He has not invariably avoided error, but he has coped very successfully with the disadvantages of his situation.” This is believed to be the first time Mr. Grahame’s *History* had been made, either in America or Europe, the special subject of notice in any leading *Review*.

This high commendation of the two volumes then published appears by his journal to have been “ very gratifying ” to Mr. Grahame, and to have encouraged him to proceed with the revision and preparation of his extended work. While, under this new incitement, he was assiduously employed in re-examining the details of his *History*, and exerting himself to render it as accurate as possible, he was interrupted by events which filled his domestic circle with grief and anxiety. In

May, 1833, the death of his wife's mother, Mrs. Wilson, for whom he entertained an affection truly filial, was immediately followed by the dangerous illness of his only daughter. Her physicians, both in France and England, having declared that her life depended upon a change of climate, Mr. and Mrs. Grahame immediately accompanied her to Madeira; whence, after a residence of nine months, they returned, her restoration being now deemed hopeless. She eventually recovered, however, in a manner "incomprehensible and unparalleled in medical experience," and ultimately attained a state of fair and permanent health, to which the assiduous attention of her excellent mother-in-law greatly contributed.

On his return from Madeira, Mr. Grahame first heard of the death of La Fayette, to whose memory he pays the following tribute in his diary:—"La Fayette is dead! This 'sun of glory' is blotted from the political firmament, which he has so long adorned. Every honest and generous breast must 'feel the sigh sincere' for the loss of this great man,—the extinction of an effulgence of honor, virtue, and wisdom so benignly bright. Fully and beautifully did he exemplify the words of Wolsey: 'Love thyself last,' and 'Corruption wins not more than honesty.' He drew his last breath, and ceased to be a part (how honored, how admirable a part!) of human nature, at an early hour on the twentieth of this month [May], at the age of nearly seventy-seven. Pity that his last days must have been embittered by the existing dissensions in his beloved America! Of the human beings I have known, and knowing have regarded with unmingled veneration, there exist now only Mr. Clarkson and my father. It seems strange to me that La Fayette should be no more,—that such an illustrious ornament of human nature should disappear, and yet the world continue so like what it was before. Yet the words 'La Fayette is dead' will cause a keen sensation to vibrate through every scene of moral and intel-

lectual being on earth. A thousand deep thoughts and earnest remembrances will awaken at that name, over which ages of renown had gathered, while yet its owner lived and moved and had his being among us. France, in losing this man, seems to me to have lost the brightest jewel in her national diadem, and to have suffered an eclipse of interest and glory."

During his residence in Madeira, Mr. Grahame continued the revision of his History, and on his return, after devoting another year to the same object, he took up his residence in London for the purpose of superintending its publication. Here, again, his anxiety and unremitting industry induced a dangerous illness. His restoration to health he attributed to the assiduous care of two of his friends, Mrs. Reid and Dr. Boott. The former took him from his hotel to her own house, and thus secured for him retirement, quiet, and her undivided attention. "From her," he says, "I have received the most comfortable and elegant hospitality, the kindest and most assiduous care, and conversation seasoned with genius, piety, and benevolence, and the finest accomplishments of education." Concerning Dr. Boott, who is a native of Boston, Massachusetts, established as a physician in London, Mr. Grahame remarks in his diary, — "His knowledge is great; his abilities excellent; his flow of thought incessant; his heart and dispositions admirable. He insists that his valuable attendance upon me be accepted as friendly, and not remunerated as professional service. In this man, America has sent me one of her noblest sons, to save the life of her historian."

After an interruption of six weeks, Mr. Grahame resumed the revision of the proof-sheets of his work; and in December, having finished this labor, returned to his family, at Nantes. In the ensuing January (1836), his History was published.

Eleven years had now elapsed since Mr. Grahame had

commenced writing the History of the United States. More earnest and assiduous research had seldom been exerted by any historian. His interest in the subject was intense. His talents were unquestionable. There was no carelessness in the execution, no haste in the publication. A Briton, highly educated, universally respected, of a moral and religious character which gave the stamp of authority to his statements and opinions, had devoted the best years of his life to the task of introducing his countrymen and the world to an acquaintance with the early fortunes of a people who had risen with unparalleled rapidity to a high rank among the nations of the earth ; yet a second time his work was received with neglect by those literary Reviews in Great Britain which chiefly guide the public taste, and distribute the rewards and honors of literary industry. Although highly wrought, elevated in sentiment, generous and noble in its design, all its views and influences made subservient to the cause of pure morals and practical piety, yet, as has been already observed, it was obviously not adapted to conciliate either the prejudices, the feelings, or the interests of the British people. It could not well be expected, that, under an Episcopal hierarchy, whose Roman Catholic origin and tendencies are manifest, a history of successful Puritanism would be favorably received. It could not be hoped, that, in a nation which had risen to the height of civilization and power under a monarchy based on an aristocracy, a work illustrative and laudatory of institutions strictly republican would be countenanced, — much more, generally patronized. Mr. Grahame, moreover, had not only imbibed the political principles of the Puritans, but had caught much of their devotional spirit. Hence his language, at times, is ill suited to the genius of an age which does not regard religion as the great business of life, nor the extension of its influences as one of the appropriate objects of history. Owing to these causes, his work

received little encouragement in Europe, and the knowledge of its claims to respect and attention was limited. Nor were these consequences confined to Great Britain. American readers commonly rely on the leading Reviews of that country for notices of meritorious productions of British authors, and are not apt to make research after those which they neglect or depreciate. As Mr. Grahame belonged to no political or literary party or circle, he was without aid from that personal interest and zeal which often confer an adventitious popularity. He trusted the success of his work wholly to its own merits, and, when disappointed a second time, neither complained nor was discouraged, — supported, as before, by a consciousness of his faithful endeavours, and by a firm belief in their ultimate success. He had assumed the whole pecuniary risk of his extended publication, in four volumes octavo, which resulted in a loss of one thousand pounds sterling, — and that, at a time, as he states, when it was not easy for him to sustain it. Taking no counsel of despondency, however, he immediately began to prepare for a second edition of his entire work, and devoted to it, during the remaining years of his life, all the time and strength which a constitutional organic disease permitted.

Hitherto, Mr. Grahame's interest in America had been derived from the study of her history and institutions ; but in 1837 he formed an acquaintance with a few distinguished Americans, and received from them the respect due to his historical labors. Among these was Robert Walsh, Esq., who, after a brilliant and effective literary career in this country, had transferred his residence to Paris ; by him Mr. Grahame was introduced to Washington Irving. Both these eminent Americans united in urging him to write the history of the American Revolution ; Mr. Walsh offering to procure for him materials, and a sufficient guaranty against pecuniary loss.

Under this influence he now entered upon a course of

reading embracing that period of American history ; but, as may be gathered from the general tenor of his subsequent remarks and the result, more from curiosity and interest in the subject than from any settled purpose of writing upon it ; for early in August of this year (1837), he observes in his diary, — “ Mr. Walsh, in his letters to me, renews his urgency that I should write the history of the Revolutionary War. But I think I have done enough as a historian, and that a prudent regard to my own reputation bids me rather enforce my title than enlarge my claim to public attention.” And about the same time he wrote to Mr. Walsh, — “ I cannot agree with you in thinking that our beloved America will regard with equal complacency a historic garland attached to her brows by foreign hands, and one in which a son of her own blends his own renown with hers.” Yet, from a letter to the same gentleman in September following, it is evident that Mr. Grahame entertained a strong predilection for the design ; for he thus writes : — “ The more I pursue my present American studies, the more I am struck with a pleasing astonishment. The account of the formation of the federal constitution of North America inspires me with delight and admiration. I knew but the outline of the scene before. Now, I find that the more its details are examined, the more honorable and interesting it proves. Truly does it deserve to be termed the greatest scene of human glory that ever adorned the tide of human time. I wish, that, ere my health and spirit had been broken, I had ventured to be the historian of that scene. But surely the country, the *magna mater virum*, that has produced such actors and such deeds, is herself destined to afford their fittest historian.” In a similar strain he writes in his journal, under the same date, — “ The account (by Pitkin and others), which I am reading, of the formation of the federal constitution of North America, after the achievement of her national independence, fills me with astonishment

and admiration. It would make me glad to be convinced that the present people of America and their leaders are altogether such as were the Americans of those days. Far more was gained to America (and through her, I hope, eventually to the whole world) by the wisdom, virtue, and moderation exhibited by her children after the War of Independence, than by the valor that brought that war to its happy close. Such a scene the history of no other country ever exhibited. I wish I had been its historian. But a fit historian will surely arise one day."

Botta, who had written the history of the American Revolution, died about this time in Paris. Mr. Grahame's feelings were deeply moved by the event. "I hope," he wrote in his diary, "that the Americans at Paris attended his funeral. *Though only in heart an American*, I would have desired leave to attend, had I been there." And in a letter to Mr. Walsh, he remarks, — "I hope some memoir of Botta will appear. It should gratify Americans to learn, that, on his death-bed, he related (it was to myself), that his son, in some distant part of the world, received civilities from the officers and crew of an American vessel, who instantly recognized as a friend the son of the historian of their country, — adding, 'That was a rich reward of my labors.' When I told him that Jefferson had expressed admiration of his work, he squeezed my hand and testified much delight. And when I told him that both Jefferson and John Adams condemned his *speeches* as fictitious, he smiled, and answered with *naïveté*, 'They are not wholly invented.'"

Mr. Walsh having, in conversation, expressed to Mr. Grahame his surprise at the partiality he evinced for his country and countrymen, he replied, — "As Hannibal was taught by his father to hate the Romans, so was I trained by mine to love the Americans." And, in writing to that gentleman in October, 1837, he remarks, in the same spirit, — "I regret,

when I see the defence of America conducted with recrimination against Great Britain. But I must confess that my own indignation at the conduct and language of some of my countrymen towards America is at times uncontrollable. I wish that Americans could regard these follies with indulgence, or magnanimous (perhaps disdainful) indifference. For my part, I can truly say, that my daughter is hardly dearer to me than America and American renown."

His admiration of the character of Washington is thus expressed in his journal, under the date of September, 1837 :—
 "O, what a piece of work of divine handicraft was Washington ! What a grace to his nation, his age, and to human nature was he ! I know of no other military and political chief who has so well supported the character delineated in these lines of Horace :—

‘ Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
 Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
 Non vultus instantis tyranni,
 Mente quatit solidâ.’

With the same feeling that tempted the clergyman, who read the funeral service over the body of John Wesley, to substitute, for the formula, ‘our dear *brother* here departed,’ the words, ‘our dear *father* here departed,’ I am inclined to regard Washington rather as a father than a brother of his fellow-men. What a master, what a pupil, were Washington and La Fayette ! One day, when I was sitting with La Fayette, he said to me, ‘I was always a republican, and Washington was always my model and my master.’” During the same month, he wrote to Mr. Walsh, — “Washington impresses me with so much veneration, that I have become more than ever anxious to know what really was the state and complexion of his religious opinions” ; and recurring, in a subsequent letter, to the same topic, he remarks, — “I find McGuire’s ‘Religious Opinions and Character of Washington’ heavy, tiresome, and, in general, unsatisfactory. But

last night I reached a passage which gave me lively delight ; for now I can look on Washington as a Christian."

Until near the close of this year, Mr. Grahame continued to pursue his researches on the subject of the American Revolution, although laboring under a constant depression of health and spirits, and a prevailing apprehension that his life would be short, and that his constitutional disorders were symptomatic of sudden death. But in December, 1837, his physicians prohibited him from "writing or reading for some months, on any subject likely to provoke much thinking" ; and on the 19th of this month, he wrote to Mr. Walsh, that he had reason to attribute his recent illness to his "late historic studies, and to the anxiety of mind earnest meditation had induced." "For me to undertake such a work," he says, "or even contemplate it, or diligently prepare for it, until my health be totally renovated (which, in all human probability, it never will be), would, I clearly see, be to do to the subject and to myself unreasonable injustice. *I therefore renounce it altogether.* I hope you will not blame me, nor regret the trouble you have taken and the kindness you have shown me with the view of my prosecuting the career from which I have now retreated. For a long time before I had the pleasure of your acquaintance, I had resolved, from a sense of both moral and physical incompetency, as well as on account of the slenderness of my success, the heaviness of my pecuniary loss, and other considerations, to carry my historic narrative no farther. It was your flattering encouragement—the *laus laudati viri*—that tempted me to mistake an agreeable vision for a reasonable hope, and to embrace the purpose I must now painfully, but decidedly, forego.

'Hos successus alit : possunt quia posse videntur.'

Neither category was mine. I had no success to sustain me, and no internal confidence to impel me ; but the very reverse."

The charge of "invention," preferred against Mr. Grahame by Mr. Bancroft, in his History,¹ on account of the epithet "baseness" applied by him to the conduct of Clarke, the agent of Rhode Island, in negotiating for that colony the charter it obtained in 1663 from Charles the Second, first came to Mr. Grahame's knowledge early in the year 1838, and excited in him feelings of surprise and a deep sense of wrong. "There is here," he immediately wrote to Mr. Walsh, "a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy which should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if the *invention* with which I am charged were justly laid to me. But the imputation is utterly false. — I have written under the guidance of authorities, on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity, than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute." A defence against this attack upon Mr. Grahame's veracity as a historian was soon after published by Mr. Walsh in "The New York American"; and was succeeded by another, from Mr. Grahame himself, in the same paper.

Mr. Bancroft, in a subsequent edition of his History,² silently withdrew the charge of "invention," and substituted in its stead that of "unwarranted misapprehension." It is not apparent how this charge is more tenable than was the other.

Mr. Grahame's strictures on Clarke's conduct in the negotiation referred to drew upon him the animadversions of "some of the *literati* of Rhode Island." Through them, he became acquainted with the intrinsic worth of Clarke's general character, and readily acknowledged him to be "a true

¹ Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1837.

² Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1841.

patriot and excellent man, and well deserving the reverence of his natural and national posterity." Yet Mr. Grahame's mind was so deeply and unalterably impressed with the opinion, that Clarke had exceeded "the line of honor and integrity" in that negotiation, that he appears to have been unable to reconcile it to his sense of truth, as a historian, wholly to exonerate his conduct from censure. Accordingly, in the present edition of his History,¹ Mr. Grahame thus alters the sentence which had occasioned the animadversions alluded to: — "The envoy conducted his negotiation with a suppleness of adroit servility, that rendered the success of it dearly bought"; implying that Clarke, in suing for favors under such pretences as he urged to obtain them, had exhibited a "servile" spirit, "supple" in respect of policy, and "adroit" in the color he gave to the facts on which he based his hopes of success; and intimating that he could find no other apology for his conduct, than "the aptitude even of good men to be transported beyond the line of honor and integrity, in conducting such negotiations as that which was confided to Clarke."²

¹ See Vol. I., p. 322.

² It is due to the subject of this Memoir here to inquire into those general facts and circumstances which led Mr. Grahame (the tenor of whose mind towards the people of the United States was kind, candid, and laudatory) to express so strongly and adhere so perseveringly to the opinion he had formed concerning Clarke's conduct in the negotiation above adverted to.

At the time of Clarke's negotiation, Massachusetts and Rhode Island were both present by deputy at the court of Charles the Second, — *both moved alike by fear*; Massachusetts of the king, being apprehensive it was his intention to vacate her old charter; Rhode Island of Massachusetts, who had shown a disposition to extend her jurisdiction over territory which Rhode Island claimed, as also to interfere with the local government and religious liberties of this colony. It was no motive of *loyalty* that induced the appearance of either of them at court; nor was there any thing in their previous history which could entitle the deputies of either colony to vaunt any sentiment of this sort on the part of their constituents.

In this state of things, and notwithstanding "Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament, in the commencement of its struggles with Charles the First, while Massachusetts declined to make a similar recognition, even when the Parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success," (Grahame, I., 323,) — Chalmers represents Clarke as

From Mr. Grahame's position as a distant observer, his views of character and events may sometimes conflict with those entertained in this country ; yet his spirit is *wholly*

boasting of the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, and, in order to depreciate Massachusetts in the opinion of King Charles the Second, and exalt Rhode Island, as challenging the deputies of the former colony "to display any one act of duty or loyalty shown by their constituents to Charles the First or to the present king, from their first establishment in New England." "The challenge thus confidently given," adds Chalmers, "was not accepted." — *Political Annals of the United Colonies*, p. 273. — The agents of Massachusetts would not condescend, for the sake even of saving their charter, to feign a sentiment which they were sensible had no existence. Their silence, under such circumstances, it is impossible for any fair mind not to honor and approve.

Furthermore, Chalmers states that the Rhode-Islanders "procured from the chiefs of the Narragansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King's Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown," and that their "*deputies boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of this transaction.*" — *Ibid.* — Now, *in point of fact*, the name of King's Province was not given to the Narraganset country until 1666, three years after Clarke's negotiation ; — see *Collections of Rhode Island Historical Society*, Vol. IV., p. 69 ; — and in respect of the surrender of the Narraganset country, Gorton, who was the chief agent in receiving it, explicitly states, that it was *self-moved* on the part of the Indians ; that they sent to the colonists and voluntarily offered it ; and does not pretend that the Rhode-Islanders had any further agency in the affair than encouraging the disposition of the Indians to make the surrender, aiding them in doing it in legal form, and promising to transmit their deed and desire of protection to the English government. — See Gorton's *Simplicities Defence*, pp. 79 – 81.

In view of Clarke's hollow pretences of loyalty on the part of his constituents, and the supposititious proofs of it adduced by him, it is not wonderful that a mind like that of Mr. Grahame should have become immovably fixed in the opinion, that the conduct of the Rhode Island deputy was not reconcilable with truth and integrity, and that it was unbecoming a historian who meant to be just, and was conscious of being impartial, to refrain from expressing with fidelity the convictions forced upon him by a knowledge of the facts and circumstances.

Clarke was unquestionably faithful to his agency. He acted according to the views and wishes of his constituents, and in vaunting their loyalty probably followed their instructions ; he was therefore fully entitled to all the thanks they expressed, and all the honors they conferred upon him. A Christian moralist, like Grahame, who had drunk deep of "Siloa's brook, which flowed fast by the oracles of God," naturally can allow no compromise with truth for the sake of effect or success, and must unavoidably apply to the conduct of men, whether acting as private individuals or as public agents, one and the same pure and elevated moral standard ; a strictness of moral principle, which, it must be confessed, in respect of public agents, the customs and opinions of the world do not regard as either practicable or politic.

American, and it is his desire and delight to do justice to the actors in the scenes he describes. The high moral tone, and the ever active, all-controlling religious principle and feeling, which pervade his work, inspire the strongest confidence in all that he writes ; and it seems impossible for any one, in the exercise of a sound and unprejudiced judgment, to believe that a mind impelled by motives so pure and elevated, having no personal ends to serve, no party purposes to answer, could, under any circumstances, knowingly warp the truth, invent or suppress facts, or give to them any false or delusive coloring. Mr. Grahame never visited the United States, and his opportunities for intercourse with its citizens were few ; but he spared neither time, labor, nor expense to acquaint himself with the authentic materials of its history ; he laid the public libraries of Scotland, England, France, and Germany under contribution to the completeness and accuracy of his work ; and if he has occasionally fallen into mistakes, they are either such as all historians, who rely for their facts on the authority of others, are subject to, or such as might naturally be expected under the peculiar circumstances of the case, — being chiefly on points of local history, in their nature of little interest or importance beyond the immediate sphere or the particular persons they affect ; and when traced to their sources, it will often be found that even into these he was led by authorities whose errors have been detected only by recent research, in some instances subsequent to the publication of his volumes.

In February, 1839, Mr. Grahame writes to Mr. Walsh, — “ You propose (and deeply I feel the honor and kindness of the proposal) to have an American edition of my work published at Philadelphia. Now, pray, ponder wisely and kindly these suggestions. Much as I should otherwise like a republication of my work in America, I could not enjoy it, ‘ with unproved pleasure free,’ if I thought it would be at

all disagreeable to Mr. Bancroft, or that it would be construed in America as a competitory challenge of an English to an American writer. Let there be, if it be necessary or profitable, a rivalry (a generous one) between England and America. But I am far too much Americanized to think, without chagrin and impatience, of *my* seeming the rival (the foreign rival) of a great American writer. Dear to me is the fame of every man whose fame is interwoven with the fame of America, and whose career tends to justify to myself and to the world the delightful feelings of admiration and hope with which she inspires me." And, in a subsequent letter on the same topic, he writes to the same correspondent, — "Most sincerely do I wish that an American may prove the great, the conclusive, and the lasting historian of America. I shall be content, if of my work some Englishmen and perhaps a few Americans say, 'So thought an Englishman who loved his country, but affected still more warmly the cause of truth, justice, and universal human welfare.'"

In his correspondence with this gentleman during this and the ensuing year, the American bias of his mind appears on almost every occasion and every subject. Intermingled with this, we continually meet with manifestations of that all-pervading religious sentiment, and of that tenderness of the domestic affections, which constituted the most striking and beautiful elements of his character. Thus, in congratulating Mr. Walsh on the restored health of his "*wife*," he remarks, — "They say that Americans, in general, say *lady* and *female*, when we say *wife* and *woman*. Now, I reckon *wife*, *woman*, and *mamma* to be the three loveliest words in the English language." And, writing concerning his having completed the forty-ninth year of his age, he adds, — "The period of life, at which, I believe, Aristotle fixes the decline of human abilities. I would give all the abilities I have, and ten times more, if I had them, for a deep, abiding sense of piety and

the love of God. May that, my dear, kind friend, be yours and mine ! And can we wish a happier portion to those whom we love ? All else fades away."

In the course of this year (1839), a highly laudatory review of the " History of the United States " was read before the Royal Academy of Nantes, by M. Malherbe, in which its merits were analyzed and acknowledged ; and Mr. Grahame was, in consequence, unanimously elected a member of the Academy.

In August, of the same year, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Mr. Grahame by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard University. It was the first public evidence of respect he had received from this side of the Atlantic ; and it drew from him unqualified expressions of satisfaction. In a letter to the Rev. George E. Ellis, of Massachusetts, in November following, he writes, — " Harvard College has long been a spot round which my heart hovered.

' Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet.'

Now, indeed, it is doubly dear to me ; for I feel myself, in a manner, one of its sons. The view of the College buildings in Peirce's History awakened and detained my fondest regards. May truth, virtue, and happiness flourish within those walls, and beam forth from them to the divine glory and human welfare ! Though somewhat broken by years and infirmities, I yet cherish the hope to see Harvard University before I die." In a letter to Mr. Walsh, in October following, he thus refers to the same topic : — " I am now an American. Your dear country has adopted me. Never let me hear again of America or Americans owing any thing to me. I am the much indebted party. I feel with the keenest sensibility the honor that Harvard University has conferred upon me."

The writer of a critical notice of Bancroft's History of the

United States, in the *North American Review*, for January, 1841, introduced some incidental remarks on that of Mr. Grahame. After bearing testimony to his capacity, though a foreigner, to appreciate the motives and institutions of the Puritans, and acknowledging the fidelity and candor, the extent and accuracy, of his researches, the critic adds, — “Mr. Grahame’s work, with all its merit, is the work of a *foreigner*. And that word comprehends much that cannot be overcome by the best writer. He may produce a beautiful composition, faultless in style, accurate in the delineation of prominent events, full of sound logic and most wise conclusions. But he cannot enter into the sympathies, comprehend all the minute feelings, prejudices, and peculiar ways of thinking, which form the idiosyncrasy of the nation.”

The author of this review was well understood to be William H. Prescott, Esq., and Mr. Grahame thus remarks upon it in his journal : — “Prescott’s critical notice of Bancroft’s third volume, in the *North American Review*, contains some handsome commendation of my work ; — qualified by that favorite canon of American literary jurisprudence, that no man not born and bred in America can perform, *as such a function ought to be performed*, the task of describing the people, or relating even their distant history. Now, I am inclined to suspect that this theorem is unsound in principle and false in fact. I think a man may better describe objects, from not having been inveterately habituated and familiarized to them ; and at once more calmly contemplate and more impartially estimate national character, of which he is not a full, necessitated, born partaker, — and national habits, prejudices, usages, and peculiarities, under the dominance of which his own spirit has not been moulded, from its earliest dawn of intelligent perception.”

In a letter to Mr. Prescott, dated March 3d, 1841, he recurs to this topic. “On the general censure of your countrymen, that, ‘personally unacquainted with America, I cannot cor-

rectly delineate even her distant history,' — Queen Elizabeth desired that her portrait should be painted without shade ; because, by a truly royal road to the principles of that art, she had discovered that shade is an accident. Are not some of your countrymen possessed of a similar feeling, and desirous that every historic portrait of America should represent it *as it ought to be*, and not *as it is* ? When I look into the works of some of your greatest American writers, and see how daintily they handle certain topics, — elusively playing or rather fencing with them, as if they were burning ploughshares, — I must respectfully doubt, if, as yet at least, an American is likely to be the best writer of American history. That the greatest and most useful historian that has ever instructed mankind will yet arise in America, I fondly hope, desire, and believe. It would be my pride to be regarded as the pioneer of such a writer, and to have, in any wise, contributed to the utility of his work and the extension of American fame. I trust it is with you, as it is with me, a sacred maxim, that to good historiography elevation and rectitude of soul are at least as requisite as literary resource and intellectual range and vigor."

In June of this year, he received, and in his journal thus comments on, Quincy's History of Harvard University : — "Read it with much interest. No other country, from the first syllable of recorded time, ever produced a seat of learning so honorable to its founders and early supporters as Harvard University. This work is the only recent American composition with which I am acquainted that justifies his countrymen's plea, that there is something in their history that none but an American born and bred can adequately conceive and render. His account of the transition of the social system of Massachusetts, from an entire and punctilious intertexture of church and state, to the restriction of municipal government to civil affairs and occupations, is very curious and interesting, and admirably fills up an important void in New England history. He wounds

my prejudices by attacking the Mathers, and other persons of a primitive cast of Puritanism, with a severity the more painful to me that I see not well how I can demur to its justice. But though I disapprove and dissent from many of their views, and regret many of their proceedings, yet the depths of my heart are with the primitive Puritans and the Scottish Covenanters ; and even their errors I deem of nobler kind than the frigid merits of some of the emendators of their policy."

In the same strain he wrote to Mr. Quincy on the 4th of July following, — " I regard the primitive Puritans much as I do the Scottish Covenanters ; respectfully disapproving and completely dissenting from many of their views and opinions ; especially their favorite scheme of an intertexture of church and state, which appears to me not only unchristian, but antichristian. But I cordially embrace all that is purely doctrinal in their system, and regard their persons with a fond, jealous love, which makes me indulgent even to their errors. Carrying their heavenly treasures in earthly vessels, they could not fail to err. But theirs were the errors of noble minds. How different from those of knaves, fools, and lukewarm professors ! I forget what poet it is that says,

'Some failings are of nobler kind
Than virtues of a narrow mind.' "

The complete restoration to health of his only daughter, and her marriage to John Stewart, Esq., the brother-in-law of the friend of his youth and manhood, Sir John F. W. Herschel, shed bright rays of happiness over the last years of Mr. Graham's life. These were passed at Nantes in his domestic circle, in the companionship of the exemplary and estimable lady who had united her fortunes with his, and cheered by the reflected happiness and welfare of his children. His only son, who was pursuing successfully the career of a solicitor in Glasgow, occasionally visited him as his professional avocations permitted. His daughter and son-in-law divided their time

between Nantes and England. Always passionately fond of children, and having the power of rendering himself singularly attractive to them by his gentle, quiet, playful manner, he was devotedly attached to his little granddaughter, who became his frequent companion. Under the influence of these tranquil scenes of domestic happiness his health visibly improved ; nor was there the slightest suspicion of the organic disease which was destined soon to terminate his life. By direction of his medical attendant, Dr. Fouré, an eminent physician of Nantes, he abstained from all severe literary toil ; yet whatever study was permitted to him was directed to the improvement of his History of the United States, to which he made many additions and amendments, and which he declared, shortly before his death, he had finally completed to his own satisfaction, and thoroughly prepared for a second edition.

Circumstances in which Mr. Grahame had been accidentally placed had forcibly directed his mind to the subject of slavery, the enormity of the evil, and its effects on the morals and advancement of the people among whom it existed. He had acquired, in right of his first wife, an estate in the West Indies, which was cultivated by slaves. His feelings in respect of this slave-derived income are strongly expressed in a letter to Sir John F. W. Herschel, dated the 24th of February, 1827. " A subject has for some time been giving me uneasiness. My children are proprietors of a ninth share of a West India estate, and I have a life-rent in it. Were my children of age, I could not make one of the negroes free, and could do nothing but appropriate or forego the share of produce the estate yielded. Often have I wished it were in my power to make the slaves free, and thought this barren wish a sufficient tribute to duty. My conscience was quite laid asleep. Like many others, I did not do what I could, because I could not do what I wished. For years past, something more than a fifth part of my income has been derived from the labor of slaves. God

forgive me for having so long tainted my store ! and God be thanked for that warning voice that has roused me from my lethargy, and taught me to feel that my hand offended me ! Never more shall the price of blood enter my pocket, or help to sustain the lives or augment the enjoyment of those dear children. They sympathize with me cordially. Till we can legally divest ourselves of our share, every shilling of the produce of it is to be devoted to the use of some part of the unhappy race from whose suffering it is derived." Subsequently, with the consent of his children, Mr. Grahame entirely gave up this slave-property, amounting to several thousand pounds.

His interest in the fate of the African race had been excited several years before by a circumstance which he thus relates in his diary, under date of October, 1821 : — " My father is most vigorously engaged in protecting three poor, forlorn Africans from being carried, against their wills, back to the West Indies. They were part of the crew of a vessel driven by stress of weather into the port of Dumbarton. While the vessel was undergoing some repairs, the people of the town remarked with surprise the precautions by which unnecessary communication with the shore was prevented ; and their surprise was converted into strong suspicion, when they perceived sometimes, in the evening, a few black heads on the deck, suffered to be there a short time, and then sent below. A number of the citizens applied to the magistrates, but the magistrates were afraid to interfere ; so the people had the sense and spirit to convey the intelligence by express to my father, whose zeal for the African race was well known. He instantly caused the vessel to be arrested, and has cheerfully undertaken the enormous damages, as well as the costs of suit, to which he will be subjected, if the case be decided against him." In a subsequent entry in his diary, Mr. Grahame writes, — " But it was decided in his favor."

By the same daily record it appears, that, in 1823, his feelings were still further excited on the subject of slavery by an incident which he thus notices : — “ Zachary Macaulay showed me to-day some of the laws of Jamaica, and pointed out how completely every provision for restraining the cruelty of the masters and alleviating the bondage of the slaves is defeated by counter provisions that render the remedy unattainable. — What a stain on the history of the church of England is it, that not one of her wealthy ministers, not one of her bishops who sit as peers of the realm in the House of Lords, has ever attempted to mitigate the evils of negro slavery, or ever called the public attention to that duty ! No, they leave the field of Christian labor to Methodists and Moravians.”

Actuated by such feelings and sentiments, he published, in 1823, a pamphlet, entitled “ Thoughts on the Projected Abolition of Slavery,” — a production, which, in the latter years of his life, he declared that he looked back upon with unalloyed pleasure and satisfaction. In 1828, Mr. Grahame relates in his journal, that he had had a long conversation on this subject with the celebrated Abbé Grégoire, to whom he had been introduced by La Fayette. In the course of this conversation, the Abbé stated to him that he “ had written to Jefferson, combating the opinions expressed in Jefferson’s ‘ Notes on Virginia,’ of the inferiority of the intellectual capacity of the negroes, and that Jefferson had answered, acknowledging his error.”

The prevalent language on the subject of negro slavery in some parts of the United States, and the apparently general acquiescence of the people in the continuance of that institution, led him, in the latter years of his life, to apprehend, that, in the first edition of his History, he had treated that subject with more indulgence than was consistent with truth and duty. Under this impression, he remarks in his diary, in December, 1837, — “ My admiration of America, my attachment to her people, and my interest in their virtue, their happiness, their

dignity, and renown, have increased, instead of abating. But research and reflection have obliged me, in the edition of my work which I have been preparing since the publication in 1835, to beat down some American pretensions to virtue and apologies for wrong, which I had formerly and too hastily admitted. Much as I value the friendship and regard of the Americans, I would rather serve than gratify them, — rather deserve their esteem than obtain their favor."

Early in the year 1842, a pamphlet, published in London in 1835, entitled "A Letter to Lord Brougham on the Subject of American Slavery, by an American," was put into Mr. Grahame's hands, as he states, "by another American, most honorably distinguished in the walks of science and philanthropy," who bid him "*read there* the defence of his (the American's) country." The positions maintained by this writer — that "slavery was introduced into the American colonies, now the United States, by the British government," and that "the opposition to it there was so general, that, with propriety, it may be said to have been universal" — roused Mr. Grahame's indignation ; which was excited to an extreme when he perceived these statements repeated and urged in a memorial addressed to Daniel O'Connell by certain Irish emigrants settled at Pottsville, in the United States. Having devoted some time to a careful perusal of this pamphlet, he felt himself called upon as a Briton, from a regard to the reputation of his country and to truth, and from a belief that "no living man knew more of the early history of the American people than himself," to contradict, in the most direct and pointed manner, the statements referred to ; pledging himself "to prove that the abovementioned pamphlet was a production more disgraceful to American literature and character (in so far as it was to be esteemed the representative of either) than any other literary performance with which he was acquainted."

He accordingly applied himself forthwith to an extended

discussion of this subject in a pamphlet to which he affixed the title, — “Who is to blame? or Cursory Review of American Apology for American Accession to Negro Slavery.” In this pamphlet Mr. Grahame admits that Great Britain “facilitated her colonial offspring to become slaveholders,” — that “she encouraged her merchants in tempting them to acquire slaves,” — that “her conduct during her long sanction of the slave-trade is indefensible,” — that “she excelled all her competitors in slave-stealing, for the same reason that she excelled them in every other branch of what was then esteemed legitimate traffic”; — but denies that she “forced the Americans to become slaveholders,” — denies that “the slave-trade was comprehended within the scope and operation of the commercial policy of the British government until the reign of Queen Anne,” — and asserts, that, “prior to that reign, negro slavery was established in every one of the American provinces that finally revolted from Great Britain, except Georgia, which was not planted until 1733.” The argument in this pamphlet is pressed with great strength and spirit, and the whole is written under the influence of feelings in a state of indignant excitement. Without palliating the conduct of Great Britain, he regards the attempt to exculpate America, by criminating the mother country, as unworthy and unjust; contending that neither was under any peculiar or irresistible temptation, but only such as is common to man, when, in the language of the Apostle, “he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed.” His argument respecting the difference, in point of criminality, between America and Great Britain results as another identical question has long since resulted concerning the comparative guilt of the receiver and the thief.

In the month of June, 1842, at the urgent request of his and his father’s friend, Thomas Clarkson, the early and successful assertor of the rights of Africans, he repaired to London, for the purpose of superintending the publication of this

pamphlet. On arriving there, he placed his manuscript in the hands of a printer, and immediately proceeded to Playford Hall, Ipswich, the residence of Mr. Clarkson. Concerning this distinguished man, Mr. Grahame, under date of the 25th of June, thus writes in his diary : — “ Mr. Clarkson’s appearance is solemnly tender and beautiful. Exhausted with age and malady, he is yet warmly zealous, humane, and affectionate. Fifty-seven years of generous toil have not relaxed his zeal in the African cause. He watches over the interests of the colored race in every quarter of the world, desiring and promoting their moral and physical welfare, rejoicing in their improvement, afflicted in all their afflictions. The glory of God and the interests of the African race are the master-springs of his spirit.”

After two days passed in intercourse with this congenial mind, Mr. Grahame returned to London and occupied himself zealously in correcting the proof-sheets of his pamphlet. On the morning of the 30th of June, he was assailed by severe pain, which his medical attendant attributed at first to indigestion, and treated as such. But it soon assumed a more alarming character. Eminent physicians were called for consultation, and his brother, Thomas Grahame, was sent for. From the nature and intensity of his suffering, Mr. Grahame soon became sensible that his final hour was approaching, and addressed himself to meet it with calmness and resignation. He proceeded to communicate his last wishes to his son-in-law, directed where he should be buried, and dictated his epitaph : — “ James Grahame, Advocate, Edinburgh, Author of the History of the United States of North America ; aged 51.” He, at the same time, expressed the hope concerning his recently published pamphlet, that no efforts might be spared to secure its sale and distribution, “ as he had written it conscientiously and with single-heartedness, and had invoked the blessing of God upon it.”

Notwithstanding the distinguished skill of his physicians, every remedy failed of producing the desired effect. His disorder was organic, and beyond the power of their art. Such was the excruciating agony which preceded his death, that his friends could only hope that his release might not be long delayed. This wish was granted on Sunday morning, the 3d of July,

“His endurance of the pain and oppression of breathing which preceded his death,” says Mr. Stewart, “was perfectly wonderful. His features were constantly calm, placid, and at last bore a bright, even a cheerful expression. His attendants, while bending close towards him, caught occasionally expressions of prayer; his profound acquaintance with the Scriptures enabling him, in this hour of his need, to draw strength and support from that inexhaustible source, where he was accustomed to seek and to find it.”

He was buried in Kensall Green Cemetery, in the neighbourhood of London. His son-in-law, John Stewart, and his brother, Thomas Grahame, attended his remains to the grave. His son, also, who had set out from Scotland on hearing of his illness, though arriving too late to see him before he expired, was not denied the melancholy satisfaction of being present at his interment. A plain marble monument has been erected over his tomb, bearing the exact inscription he himself dictated.

These scanty memorials are all that it has been possible, in this country, to collect in relation to James Grahame. Though few and disconnected, they are grateful and impressive.

The habits of his life were domestic, and in the family circle the harmony and loveliness of his character were eminently conspicuous. His mind was grave, pure, elevated, far-reaching; its enlarged views ever on the search after the

true, the useful, and the good. His religious sentiments, though exalted and tinctured with enthusiasm, were always candid, liberal, and tolerant. In politics a republican, his love of liberty was nevertheless qualified by a love of order, — his desire to elevate the destinies of the *many*, by a respect for the rights and interests of the *few*. As in his religion there was nothing of bigotry, so in his political principles there was nothing of radicalism.

As a historian, there were combined in Mr. Grahame all the qualities which inspire confidence and sustain it ; — a mind powerful and cultivated, patient of labor, indefatigable in research, independent, faithful, and fearless ; engaging in its subject with absorbing interest, and in the development of it superior to all influences except those of truth and duty.

To Americans, in all future times, it cannot fail to be an interesting and gratifying circumstance, that the foreigner, who first undertook to write a complete history of their republic from the earliest period of the colonial settlements, was a Briton, eminently qualified to appreciate the merits of its founders, and at once so able and so willing to do justice to them. The people of the United States, on whose national character and success Mr. Grahame bestowed his affections and hopes, owe to his memory a reciprocation of feeling and interest. As the chief labor of his life was devoted to illustrate the wisdom and virtues of their ancestors and to do honor to the institutions they established, it is incumbent on the descendants to hold and perpetuate in grateful remembrance his talents, virtues, and services.

TO

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq.,

OF WHITEHILL, LANARKSHIRE, SCOTLAND,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF PROFOUNDEST REVERENCE AND AFFECTION,

BY

HIS SON.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

1660-1800

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1660-1800

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P R E F A C E .

THIS historical work is the fruit of more than eleven years of eager research, intense meditation, industrious composition, and solicitous revisal. To the author, the scene of labor which he now concludes has been one of the most agreeable features of his life. And, should the perusal of his work afford to others even a slight share of the entertainment that its production has yielded to himself, he may claim the honor and gratification of a successful contributor to the stock of human happiness and intelligence.

In the year 1827, I published a work in two volumes, entitled *The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America, till the British Revolution in 1688*. My plan, as I then announced, was, and it still is, restricted to the history of those provinces of North America (originating, all except New York and Delaware, from British colonization), which, at the era of the American Revolution, were included in the confederacy of *The United States*; — the illustration of the parentage and birth of this great republic being the main object of my labors.

The first and second volumes of the present work may be considered as a republication of the former one. They embrace the rise of such of those States, comprehended within

my general plan, as were founded prior to the British Revolution in 1688 ; and trace their progress till that epoch, and, in several instances, till a period somewhat later. Various additional researches which I have made since my first historical publication, and in which I have been assisted by suggestions communicated to me from America, have enabled me to correct some important errors by which that work was deformed, and now to reproduce it in an enlarged and greatly amended condition. Of some of these emendations the nature and effect are such as to render it impossible (without making one volume contradict the statements in another) to publish a continuation of the History, except in connection with the present republication of the first portion of it,—a circumstance which will perhaps expose me to blame, and which I most sincerely regret. The respect which I feel for the judgment of some intelligent and estimable friends (and in particular of my brother¹) has induced me to cancel various passages in the original publication, which were censured as obtruding superfluous (perhaps irrelevant) reflections, or accumulating an excess of detail and illustration. A diligent and laborious revision, frequently repeated, has been productive of numerous alterations, and, I hope, proportional improvement, in the style of my performance.

The third and fourth volumes of the present work form the second composition which was prospectively announced in the preface to my first historical publication. They continue the history (commenced in the first two volumes) of the older American States, and also embrace the rise and progress of those younger colonial commonwealths which were subsequently founded,—till the revolt of the United Provinces from the dominion of Britain, and their assumption of national independence. Strictly speaking, they form a continuation,

¹ Author of *A Treatise on Internal Intercourse and Communication in Civilized States*, and other scientific works.

not of my original publication, but of my original work as it has been subsequently altered and amended.

In the preface to my first publication, I announced a third historic composition, which was intended to embrace the Revolutionary War, and the establishment and consolidation of the North American republic. But I have been induced, on farther reflection, to abandon the purpose I had entertained of this ulterior effort. Since my first publication, I have met with and read Botta's *History of the War of American Independence*, — a work of so much merit, and so well suited, I think, to the present era, that it seems to me to render any other composition (at least, any other *European* composition) on the same subject, *at present*, superfluous. Fifty or sixty years hence, a final and more compendious delineation of the scene may be required.

In the collection of materials for the production of this work, I have been obliged to incur a degree of toil and expense, which, in my original contemplation of the task, I was far from anticipating. Considering the connection that so long subsisted between Great Britain and the American States, the information concerning the early condition and progress of many of these communities, which the public libraries of Britain are capable of supplying, is, or at least till very lately was, amazingly scanty. Many valuable works, illustrative of the history and statistics both of particular States and of the whole North American commonwealth, I found had no place and were entirely unknown in the British libraries; a defect the more discreditable, as the greater part of these works might have been obtained without much difficulty in London or from America.

After borrowing all the materials that I could so procure, and purchasing as many more as I could find in Britain or obtain from America, my collection proved still so defective in many respects, that, in the hope of enlarging it, and in compliance with the advice of my friend, Sir William Ham-

ilton¹ (of whose counsel and assistance I can better feel the obligation than express the value), I undertook a journey, in the year 1825, from Edinburgh, where I then resided, to Göttingen; and in the library of this place, as I had been taught to expect, I found a richer treasury of North American literature than any, or indeed all, of the libraries of Britain could at that time supply. From the resources of the Göttingen library, and the liberality with which its administrators have always been willing to render it subservient to the purposes of literary inquiry, I derived great advantage and assistance. I am indebted, also, to the private collections of various individuals in England and France for the perusal of some very rare and not less valuable and interesting works, illustrative of the subject of my labors. To particularize all the persons who have thus or otherwise assisted my exertions and enriched my stock of materials would weary rather than interest the reader, — whom it less imports to know what opportunities I have had than what use I have made of them. Yet I must be indulged in one grateful, perhaps boastful, allusion to the advantage I have enjoyed in the communications which I had the honor of receiving from that illustrious friend of America and ornament of human nature, the late General La Fayette.

History addresses her lessons to all mankind; but when she records the fortunes of an existing people, it is to them that her admonitions are especially directed. There has never been a people on whose character their own historical recollections were calculated to exercise a more animating or salutary influence than the nation whose early history I have undertaken to relate.

In national societies established as the United States of North America have been, history does not begin with ob-

¹ Professor of Universal History, and afterwards of Logic and Metaphysics, in the University of Edinburgh.

scure traditions or fabulous legends. The origin of the nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions, may be distinctly ascertained; and the people enabled to acquire a complete and accurate conception of the character of their earliest national ancestors, as well as of every succeeding generation through which the inheritance of the national name and fortunes has devolved on themselves. When the interesting knowledge thus unfolded to them reveals, among other disclosures, that their existence as a nation originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude, and magnanimity, and that every successive acquisition by which their liberty and happiness have been extended or secured has proceeded from the exercise of the same qualities, and evinced their faithful preservation and unimpaired efficacy,—respect for antiquity becomes the motive and pledge of virtue; the whole body of the people feels itself ennobled by the consciousness of ancestors whose renown will constitute, to the end of time, the honor or reproach of their successors; and the love of virtue is so interwoven with patriotism and with national glory, as to prevent the one from becoming a selfish principle, and the other a splendid or mischievous illusion.¹ If an inspired apostle might with complacency proclaim himself *a citizen of no mean city*, a North American may feel grateful exultation in styling himself the native of no ignoble land,—but of a land that has yielded as rich a harvest of glory to God and of happiness to man, as any other portion of the world, from the earliest lapse of recorded time, has ever had the honor of affording. Were the dark and horrible blot of negro slavery obliterated from this scene, the brightness of its aspect

¹ “Certainly, we cannot wish to see perpetuated among us the old Asiatic and European notions of indelible hereditary excellence. But surely there is a point at which good feeling and sound philosophy can meet, and agree in ascribing the best parts of our character to the moral influence of a virtuous and intelligent ancestry.” Verplanck’s *Anniversary Discourse* (1818) before the *New York Historical Society*.

would awaken universal admiration, and shed a cheering and ameliorating ray through the whole expanse of human nature and society. A more elevated model of human character could hardly be proposed to the imitation of the American people than that which their own early history, and the later scene of their achievement of national independence, bequeath to them. It is at once their interest and their honor to preserve with sacred care a bequest so richly fraught with the instructions of wisdom and the incitements of duty. Acquaintance with the past is essential to a wise estimate and use of the present, and to enlightened consideration of the future. The diffusion of knowledge, the progress of popular liberty and improvement, have deprived of its exclusive and aristocratic import the oft-repeated maxim of other days, that *History is the lesson of kings*. The American people will cherish a generous and profitable self-respect, while they comply with the canon of divine wisdom, to “remember the days of old, and consider the years of many generations”; and the venerated ashes of their fathers will dispense a nobler influence than the relics of the prophet of Israel in reviving piety and invigorating virtue.¹

The most important requisite of historical compositions, and that in which, I suspect, they are commonly most defective, is truth,²—a requisite, of which even the sincerity of the historian is insufficient to assure us. In tracing ascertained and remarkable facts, either backward to their source,

¹ “No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency.” Washington’s Speech to Congress, 30th April, 1789.

² “Truth is the eye of History.” Polybius. No writer, ancient or modern, has so well explained and inculcated the main duties of a historian as Polybius; and few, if any, have better exemplified them. He is one of the rare exceptions to Dr. Johnson’s maxim, that *Every historian discovers his country*.

or forward in their operation, the historian frequently encounters, on either hand, a perplexing variety of separate causes and diverging effects ; among which it is no less difficult than important to discriminate the predominant or peculiar springs of action, and to preserve the main and moral stream of events. Indiscriminate detail would produce intolerable fatigue and confusion ; while selection necessarily infers the risk of error. The sacred historians often record events with little or no reference to their moral origin and lineage ; and have thus given to some parts of the only history that is infallibly authentic an appearance of improbability, which the more reasoning narratives of uninspired writers have exchanged, at least as frequently, for substantial misrepresentation. It may be thought an imprudent avowal, and yet I have no desire to conceal, that, in examining and comparing historical records, I have more than once been forcibly reminded of Sir Robert Walpole's assurance to his son, that "*History must be false.*"¹ Happily, this apothegm applies, if not exclusively, at least most forcibly, to that which Walpole probably regarded as the main trunk of history, but which (especially in modern times, and in relation to free and civilized communities) is, indeed, the most insignificant branch of it, — the intrigues of cabinets, the secret schemes and machinations of ministers, and the conflicts of selfish and trading politicians.

In contemplating scenes of human dissension and strife, it

¹ Horace Walpole's *Works*. A curious illustration of historical inaccuracy was related by the late President Jefferson to an intelligent English traveller. The Abbé Raynal, in his *History of the British Settlements in America*, has recounted a remarkable story which implies the existence of a particular law in New England. Some Americans, being in company with the Abbé at Paris, questioned the truth of the story, alleging that no such law had ever existed in New England. The Abbé maintained the authenticity of his *History*, till he was interrupted by Dr. Franklin, who was present, and, after listening for some time in silence to the dispute, said, "I can account for all this: you took the anecdote from a newspaper, of which I was at that time editor; and, happening to be very short of news, I composed and inserted the whole story." Hall's *Travels in Canada and the United States*.

is difficult, or rather it is impossible, for an observer, partaking the infirmities of human nature, to escape entirely the contagion of those passions which the controversies arose from or engendered. Thus partialities are secretly insinuated into the mind ; and, in balancing opposite testimony, they find a subtle and so much the surer means of exerting their influence. I am not desirous of concealing that I regard America with sentiments of ardent, perhaps partial, affection ; and, in surveying various scenes in her history, I derive a warm, unproved pleasure from the conviction, that, in dignity, wisdom, and worth, they transcend the highest conception suggested by the annals of any other people in ancient or in modern times. If my consciousness of the existence of feelings somewhat partial should not exempt my judgment from their influence, I hope the avowal, at least, will prevent the error from extending to my readers.

I am far from thinking, or from purposing to assert or insinuate, that every part of the conduct of the American States, throughout the various controversies in which they have been involved, was pure and blameless. Guile, evil passion, violence, and injustice have in some instances dishonored the councils and transactions of the leaders and assemblies of America ; and it was the conduct of one of the States, the most renowned for piety and virtue, that suggested to her historian the melancholy observation, that, “in all ages and countries, communities of men have done that, of which most of the individuals of whom they consisted would, acting separately, have been ashamed.”¹ But mingled masses are justly denominated from the elements and qualities that pre-

¹ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*. This observation referred immediately to the dispute between Massachusetts and the confederated States of New England in 1649 ; but the general proposition which it involves is one which Hutchinson (himself an ambitious and disappointed antagonist of popular assemblies) snatches, throughout his work, every occasion to propound and illustrate.

ponderate in their composition ; and sages and patriots must be regarded as the mere creations of fancy, if we can never recognize the lineaments of worth and wisdom under the vesture of human imperfection. There exists in some romantic, speculative minds a *Platonic* love of liberty, as well as virtue, that consists with a fastidious disgust for every visible and actual incarnation of either of these principles ; and which, when not corrected by sense and experience, conducts to ingenious error or to *seemingly* generous misanthropy.

Whoever, with attention minute and impartial, examines the histories of individuals or communities, should prepare himself to be disappointed and perplexed by numberless imperfections and inconsistencies, which, wisely pondered, confirm the Scriptural testimony of the inherent frailty of human nature and the reflected lustre of human virtue. Much error is produced and prolonged in the world by unwillingness or inability to make candid concessions or to admit charitable interpretations, — to acknowledge in an adversary the excellence that condemns our indiscriminating hate, — in a friend or hero, the defects that sully the pleasing image of virtue, that diminish our exultation, and rebuke the excesses of inordinate confidence. There is not a more common nor more unhappy mistake than that which confounds the impulse of sincerity with the virtue of candor. With partial views, sincerely embraced, but not candidly appreciated, we encounter the opposite partialities of antagonists ; and, by mutual commission and perception of injustice, confirm, augment, and reciprocate each other's misapprehensions. It should be the principal object of every man, who undertakes the office of a historian, to correct, as far as he may, the errors by which experience is thus rendered useless ; and this object I have purposed and endeavoured to keep steadily in view.

L'ÉPERONNIÈRE, NEAR NANTES,

September, 1835.

P. S. The variations which distinguish the second from the first edition of this work consist of the retrenchment of superfluities in some quarters, the introduction of additional facts and remarks in others, and numerous emendations of the style, — the result of a severe revision, in which I have been aided by the taste and sagacity of some accomplished friends, and especially of my father-in-law, the Rev. John Wilson, President of the Protestant Consistory of Nantes and La Vendée. To the kindness of those distinguished American writers, Robert Walsh and Josiah Quincy (whose friendship has been one of the most agreeable fruits of my labors), I owe my recent access to some valuable literary materials and my acquaintance with some curious historic details.

It may be proper to observe (which I omitted to do in the preface to the former edition), that, in the course of this historical digest, I have frequently illustrated particular portions of my narrative by citation of various authorities not one of which accords entirely either with the statements of the others or with my own. To explain, in every such instance, how I have been led, from comparison of conflicting authorities, to the view that I have considerably embraced, would encumber every chapter of my work with a long series of subsidiary disquisitions. Much of the labor of an honest historian must either be painfully shared by his readers, or remain wholly unknown to them.

5 PLACE DE LAUNAY, NANTES,

June, 1842.

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BOOK I.

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OF

VIRGINIA,

TILL THE

BRITISH REVOLUTION, IN 1688.

THE
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BOOK I.
VIRGINIA.
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It was on the third of August, 1492, a little before sunrise, that Christopher Columbus, undertaking the grandest enterprise that human genius has ever conceived, or human talent and fortitude have ever accomplished, set sail from Spain for the discovery of the western world. On the 13th of October, about two hours before midnight, a light in the island of San Salvador was descried by Columbus from the deck of his

vessel, and America for the first time beheld by European eyes.¹ Of the wide train of important consequences that depended on this spectacle, perhaps not even the penetrating and comprehensive mind of Columbus was adequately sensible; but to the end of time, the heart of every human being who reads the story will confess the interest of that eventful moment, and partake the feelings of the illustrious man. On the following day, the Spanish adventurers, preceded by their commander, took possession of the soil; the external emblems of Christianity were planted on the shores of the western hemisphere; and a connection, pregnant with a vast and various progeny of good and evil, was established between Europe and America. By one of those accidents to which the solidest titles to human fame are exposed, the discoverer of the new world was defrauded of the honor of blending his own name with the great fruit of his noble adventure; which has derived its now unalterable denomination from the bold imposture by which an earlier writer, though much later visitor of the region, Amerigo Vespucci, of Florence, contrived for a while to persuade mankind that he was the first European to whom America had revealed her existence.²

¹ Dr. Robertson espoused the opinion, that the ancients had no notion of the existence of the western world, and has collected from ancient writers many proofs, not only of ignorance, but of most barbarous error, respecting the extent and dimensions of the earth. *Hist. of America*, Book I. Yet a Roman writer, to whose sentiments he has not adverted, is supposed by some to have prophesied the discovery of America, 1400 years before this event took place. The passage occurs in one of Seneca's tragedies.

“ Venient annis
Secula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novus
Detegat orbes; nec sit terribis
Ultima Thule.”

Medea, Act II. Chorus.

This passage attracted a good deal of comment from the early Spanish and Flemish writers on America. Acosta opposed the common notion of its being a prophecy, and maintained that it was (as most probably it was) a mere conjecture of the poet. *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, B. I. Certain passages in Virgil's *Æneid*, in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and even in the works of still older writers, have been equally cited, with more zeal and ingenuity than discretion and success, as containing allusions to America. See, on this subject, that portion of Basnage's *Histoire des Juifs* which is appended to Stowe's translation of Jahn's *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*.

² By a late and honorable reparation of this injustice, at the period when America achieved her highest glory in the establishment of the independence and the federal constitution of the United States, the central and federal District received the name of Columbia.

Joanna Baillie's *Legend of Christopher Columbus* is the grandest poetical tribute ever rendered to the discoverer of America.

The intelligence of the successful voyage of Columbus was received in Europe with the utmost surprise and admiration. In England, more especially, it was calculated to produce a strong impression, and to awaken at once emulation and regret. While Columbus was proposing his schemes with little prospect of success at the court of Spain, he had despatched his brother Bartholomew to the court of Henry the Seventh in England, there to solicit patronage and tender the fruits of discovery. Bartholomew was taken prisoner by pirates, and after a long detention was reduced to such poverty, that, on his arrival in London, he was compelled by the labor of his hands to procure the means of arraying himself in habiliments becoming his interview with a monarch. His propositions were favorably entertained by Henry ; but before a definitive arrangement was concluded, Bartholomew was recalled by the intelligence, that his brother's plans had at length been sanctioned and espoused by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

If the wareful and penurious disposition of Henry contributed to diminish his regrets for the abandonment of a hazardous and expensive undertaking, the astonishing success which attended its actual prosecution by others revived the former projects of his mind, and inspired a degree of enterprise that showed him both instructed and provoked by the better fortune of the Spanish crown.¹ In this temper he hearkened with satisfaction to the proposals of one Gabato or Cabot, a Venetian, residing in Bristol ; who, from reflection on the discoveries of Columbus towards the southwest, had conceived the opinion, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the northwest, and now offered to the king to conduct an expedition in this direction. Henry, prompted by his avarice and stung with envy and disappointment, readily closed with this proposal, and not only bestowed on its author a commission of discovery, but, on two subsequent occasions, issued similar commissions to other individuals for exploring and appropriating the territorial resources of unknown portions of the globe.²

The commission to Cabot, the only one which was productive of interesting consequences, was granted on the 5th of

¹ Bacon's *History of Henry the Seventh.*

² Bacon.

March, 1495, (about two years after the return of Columbus from America,) and empowered that adventurer and his sons to sail under the flag of England in quest of countries yet unappropriated by Christian sovereigns ; to take possession of them in the name of Henry, and plant the English banner on the walls of their castles and cities, and to maintain with the inhabitants a traffic exclusive of all competitors and exempted from customs ; under the condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit of every voyage to the crown.¹ About two years after the date of his commission, Cabot, with his second son, Sebastian, embarked at Bristol² in a ship provided by the king, and attended by four small vessels equipped by the merchants of that city. Sebastian Cabot appears to have greatly excelled his father in genius and nautical science ; and it is to him alone that historians have ascribed all the discoveries with which the name of Cabot is associated.

The navigators of that age were as much influenced by the opinions as incited by the example of Columbus, who erroneously supposed that the islands he discovered in his first voyage were outskirts or dependencies of India, not far remote from the Indian continent. Impressed with the same notion, Sebastian Cabot conceived the hope, that, by steering to the northwest, he might fulfil the design and improve the performance of Columbus, and reach India by a shorter course than the great navigator himself had attempted. Accordingly pursuing that track, he discovered the islands of Newfoundland and St. John ; and, continuing to hold a westerly course, soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the confines of Labrador to the coast of Virginia. Thus, conducted by Cabot, whose own lights were derived from the genius of Columbus, did the English achieve the honor of being the second European nation that visited the western world, and the first that discovered the vast continent that stretches from the Gulf of Mexico towards the North Pole : for it was not till the succeeding year [1498] that Columbus, in his second voyage, was enabled to complete his own dis-

¹ Hakluyt. Chalmers's *Annals of the United Colonies*. Hazard's *Historical Collections*.

² Smith's *History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles*.

covery, and advance beyond the islands he had first visited to the continent of America.

Cabot, disappointed in his main object of finding a western passage to India, returned to England to relate the discoveries he had already accomplished, — without attempting, either by settlement or conquest, to gain a footing on the American continent.¹ He would willingly have resumed his exploratory enterprise in the service of England, but he found that in his absence the king's ardor for territorial discovery had greatly abated. Seated on a throne which he acquired by conquest, in a country exhausted by civil wars, — involved in hostilities with Scotland, — and harassed by the insurrections of his subjects and the machinations of pretenders to his crown, — Henry had little leisure for the execution of distant projects ; and his sordid disposition found small attraction in the prospect of a colonial settlement which was not likely to be productive of immediate pecuniary gain. He was engaged, likewise, at this time, in negotiating the marriage of his son with the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, — a transaction that supplied additional reasons for relinquishing designs which could not fail to give umbrage to this jealous prince, who claimed the whole continent of America in virtue of a donative from the pope. Nor were the subjects of Henry in a condition to avail themselves of the ample field thrown open by Cabot's discovery to their enterprise and activity. The civil wars had dissipated wealth, repressed commerce, and even excluded the English people from partaking the general improvement of the other nations of Europe ; and all the benefit, which for the present they derived from the voyage of Cabot, was that right of territorial property which is supposed to arise from priority of discovery, — an acquisition, which, from the extent of the region, the mildness of its climate, and the fertility of its soil, afforded an inviting prospect of advantageous colonization. But by the counteracting circumstances to which we have already adverted, was England prevented from occupying this important field, till the moral and religious advancement which her people were soon to attain should qualify her to become

¹ Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*.

the parent of civility and population in North America. Cabot, finding that Henry had abandoned all colonial projects, soon after transferred his own services to the Spaniards ; and the English seemed contented to surrender their discoveries and the discoverer to the superior fortune of that successful people. The only immediate fruit of his enterprise is said to have been the importation from America of the first turkeys¹ that were ever seen in Europe.

It is remarkable, that, of these earliest expeditions to the western world by Spain and England, not one was either projected or conducted by a citizen of the state which supplied the subordinate adventurers, defrayed the expense of the equipment, and reaped the benefit of the enterprise. The honor of the achievement was thus more widely distributed. The Spanish adventurers were conducted by Columbus, a native of Genoa ; the English, by John Cabot, a citizen of Venice ;² and though Sebastian Cabot, whose superior genius assumed the direction of the enterprise, was born in England, it was by the experience and instructions of his father that his capacity was trained to naval affairs, and it was to the father that the projection of the voyage was due, and the chief command of it intrusted. Happily for the honor of the English people, the parallel extends no farther ; and the treatment which the two discoverers experienced from the nations that employed them differed as widely as the histories of the two empires which they respectively contributed to found. Columbus was loaded with chains in the region which he had the glory of discovering, and died, the victim of ingratitude and disappointment, among the people whom he had conducted to wealth and renown. Cabot, after spending some years in the service of Spain, also experienced her ingratitude ; and returning in his old age to England, obtained a kind and honorable reception from the nation which had as yet derived only barren hopes and a seemingly relinquished title from his expedition. He received the

¹ Why this bird received the name it enjoys in England has never been satisfactorily explained. By the French it was called *cog d'Inde*, on account of its American original ; America being then generally termed Western India.

² The first expedition of the French to America was conducted, in like manner, by an Italian, John Verazzan, a native of Florence.

dignity of knighthood, the appointment of Grand Pilot of England, and a pension that enabled him to spend his declining years in circumstances of honor and comfort.¹

From this period till the reign of Elizabeth, no fixed views were entertained nor any deliberate purpose evinced in England of occupying territory or establishing colonies in America. In the earlier part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, the attention and energy of the English government were absorbed by wars and intrigues on the continent of Europe ; and the innovations in religious doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution, that attended its close, supplied ample employment at home for the minds of the king and of the great bulk of the people. It was during this reign that (after many prelusive gleams supplied during successive ages by that small Christian community which never admitted the sway nor adopted the errors of the church of Rome²) the full light of the Reformation broke forth in Germany, whence it was rapidly diffused on all sides over the rest of Europe. Henry, at first, resolutely opposed himself to the adversaries of the church of Rome, and even attempted by his pen to stem the progress of the innovations, — a service which the pope rewarded by conferring on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. But his subsequent controversy with the papal see awakened and sanctioned a spirit of inquiry among his own subjects, which spread far beyond his expectations and desires, and eluded all his attempts to control and restrain it. A discussion of the pretensions of the church of Rome naturally begot inquiry into her doctrines ; for her grand pretension to infallibility formed the only authority to which many of these doctrines were indebted for their currency. This pretension, indeed, was so closely interwoven with the whole fabric of her canons and institutions, that even a partial dissent from any one of them attacked a principle that pervaded them all. In a system so overgrown with abuses, the spirit of inquiry, wherever it gained admission, could not fail to detect error ; and even a single instance of such detection, by shaking the fundamental tenet of infallibility, arraigned the solidity of the whole structure. This danger, which could not have been entirely evaded, was aggravated by

¹ Smith.

² Bost's *History of the Moravian Church*.

the alarm with which it inspired the Roman pontiffs, and the imprudence of the defensive policy which they adopted. Utterly proscribing the spirit of inquiry which it was no longer possible to suppress, they only inflamed its vigor and hostility, and compelled the Reformers to extend their views from an emendation of the actual state of the church of Rome to an unqualified impugnation of her authority and revolt from her communion.

The progress of this growing spirit of inquiry operated with strong and salutary influence on the character and fortune of the nations in which it prevailed. A subject of rational investigation had at length been found, that could interest the dullest and engross the most vigorous capacities ; the contagion of fervent zeal and bold excursive thought was widely propagated ; and every people by which the reformed doctrines were embraced was elevated in force and dignity of intellectual character. Introduced into England by the power of a haughty, capricious, and barbarous tyrant, whose object was, not the emancipation of his subjects, but the deliverance of himself from an authority which he wrested from the pope only to wield with his own hands, — some time elapsed before these doctrines worked their way into the minds of the people, and, expelling the corruptions and adulterations of the royal teacher, attained a full maturity of reasonable influence. Besides leavening the national *creed* with the spirit of the ancient superstition, Henry encumbered the national worship with many of the Romish institutions ; retaining whatever was calculated to prove a useful auxiliary to royal prerogative, or to gratify the pomp and pride of his own sensual imagination. In the composition of the ecclesiastical body, he preserved the splendid hierarchy ; and in the solemnities of worship, the gorgeous ceremonial of the church of Rome. But he found it easier to promulgate ecclesiastical ordinances, than to confine the stream of human opinion, or stay the heavenly shower by which it was gradually reinforced and enlarged ; and in an after age, the repugnance that manifested itself between the constitution of the English church and the religious sentiments of the English people produced consequences of very great importance in the history of England, and the origination of civilized society in North America.

The rupture between Henry the Eighth and the Roman see removed whatever obstacle the papal donative to Spain might have opposed to the appropriation of American territory by the English crown ; but of the two immediate successors of that monarch, the one neglected this advantage, and the other renounced it. During the reign of Edward the Sixth, the court of the royal minor was distracted by faction, or occupied with the conduct and the vicissitudes of a war with Scotland ; and the attention of the king, and of a great portion of his people, was engrossed by the care of extending and confirming the establishment of the Protestant doctrines. Introduced by Henry and patronized by Edward, these doctrines multiplied their converts with a facility that savored somewhat of the influence of human authority and the suggestions of secular interest ; till, under the direction of Providence, the same temporal power that had been employed to promote the introduction of truth was permitted to attempt its extinction. The royal authority, which Henry had blindly made subservient to the spread and recognition of the Protestant doctrines, was now employed by Mary, with equal blindness, as an instrument to sift and purify the collective mass of Protestant professors, to separate the genuine from the spurious portions of it, and to enable the sound and sincere believers, by a wonderful display of fortitude, faithfulness, and patience, to illustrate the perfection of Christian character in unison with the purity of Christian faith. This princess, restoring the connection between England and the church of Rome, and united in marriage to Philip of Spain, was bound by double ties to refrain from contesting the Spanish claims on America. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth, that the obstacles created by the pretensions of Spain were finally removed ; and then, indeed, the prospect of collision with the designs of this state, so far from appearing objectionable, presented the strongest attraction to the minds of the English.

But although, during this long period, the occupation of America was entirely neglected, the naval resources adapted to the formation and maintenance of colonies were diligently cultivated in England, and a vigorous impulse was communicated to the spirit of commercial enterprise. Under the direc-

tions of Cabot, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the English merchants visited the coast of Brazil, and traded with the colonial settlements of the Portuguese. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, which had been previously established, were extended and encouraged; and an association of adventurers for the discovery of new countries was incorporated by royal charter. Even Mary contributed to promote this direction of the national disposition and faculties: she founded the Corporation of Merchants trading to Russia, and studied to augment the security of their traffic by cultivating a friendly relation with the sovereign of that country. During her reign, an attempt highly creditable to English enterprise and energy, and not wholly unsuccessful, was made to reach India by land;¹ and a commercial intercourse was established with the coast of Africa. Many symptoms conspired to indicate with what adventurous vigor and persevering ardor the English might be expected to improve every opportunity of exerting and enlarging their resources, and how high a rank they were destined to hold in the scale of nations, when the force of their genius should be thoroughly developed by the progress of their recent improvement, and when the principles and policy of their government should more perfectly coincide with the temper and character of the people.

The Spaniards, meanwhile, had spread their settlements over the southern regions of the new world, and achieved an extent of conquest and accession of treasure that dazzled the eyes and awakened the emulation of all Europe. Men of active and enterprising disposition in Spain, curbed and restricted at home by the illiberal genius of their municipal government, eagerly rushed into the outlet of grand adventure presented to them on the vast theatre of Mexico and Peru. The paganism of the natives of these regions allured the invasion of bigots wedded to a faith that recognized compulsion as an instrument of conversion; and their wealth and effeminacy not less powerfully tempted the cupidity and ambition of men in whom pride inflamed the thirst of riches, while it inspired contempt of useful industry. Thus every prospect that could address itself prevailing to human desires, or to the peculiarities

¹ Hakluyt.

of Spanish taste and character, contributed to promote that series of rapid and vigorous invasions by which the Spaniards overran so large a portion of the continent of South America. The real and lasting effect of their acquisitions has corresponded, in a manner very satisfactory to the moral eye, with the character and merit of the achievements by which they were earned. The history of the expeditions which terminated in the conquest of Mexico and Peru displays, perhaps, more strikingly than any other portion of the records of the human race, what amazing exertions the spirit of man can prompt him to attempt, and sustain him to endure, — how signally he is capable of misdirecting the energy with which his Creator has endowed him, and of disgracing the most admirable capacities of his nature, by rendering them instrumental to sordid, unjust, and barbarous ends. Religion, the grand corrective of human evil, error, and woe, shared this fatal perversion ; and the crosses, which, as emblems of Christianity, successively announced the advent of this faith to each newly discovered region, proved far other than the harbingers of glory to God or good-will to men. The deliberate pride, and stern, unsparing cruelty of the Spanish adventurers, their arrogant disregard of the rights of human nature, and calm survey of the desolation of empires and destruction of happiness and life, are rendered the more striking and impressive by the humility of their own original circumstances, which seemed practically to level and unite them by habit and sympathy with the mass of mankind. Their conquests were accomplished with such rapidity, and followed with such barbarous oppression, that a very few years sufficed not only to subjugate but almost wholly to extirpate the slothful and effeminate idolaters who were fated to perish by their hands. Yet the fate of these victims of Spanish cruelty was not unavenged. To their conquerors, and through them to all Europe, they communicated the most loathsome and horrible disease that has ever afflicted and corrupted the human frame. The settlements that were founded in the conquered countries produced, from the nature of the soil, a vast influx of gold and silver into Spain, and finally exercised a pernicious influence on the liberty, industry, and prosperity of her people. But it was long before the bitter

harvest of this golden shower was reaped ; and in an age so darkly blind to the liberal truths of political science, it could not be foreseen through the dazzling pomp and renown with which the acquisition of so much empire and the administration of so much treasure invested the Spanish monarchy. The exploits of the original adventurers, embellished by the romantic genius of Spain, and softened by national partiality, had now occupied the pens of Spanish historians, and excited a thirst for kindred enterprise and hopes of similar enrichment in every nation to which the tidings were conveyed. The study of the Spanish language, and the acquaintance with Spanish literature, which the marriage of Philip and Mary introduced into England, contributed to cherish this impulse in the minds of the English, and gave to the rising spirit of adventure among them a strong determination towards the continent of America.

The reign of Elizabeth was productive of the first attempts of the English people to establish a permanent settlement in America. But many causes conspired to enfeeble their exertions for this purpose, and to retard the accomplishment of so great a design. The civil government of Elizabeth, in the commencement of her reign, was acceptable to her subjects ; and her commercial policy, though frequently perverted by the interests of arbitrary power and the principles of a narrow and erroneous system, was in the main, perhaps, not less laudably designed than judiciously directed to the cultivation of their resources and the enlargement of their prosperity. By permitting a free exportation of corn, she promoted at once the agriculture and the commerce of England ; and by treaties with foreign powers, she endeavoured to establish commercial relations between their territories and her own.¹ Sensible

¹ She obtained from John Basilides, the czar of Muscovy, a patent which conferred the whole trade of his dominions on the English. With this grant, the tyrant, who lived in continual dread of a revolt of his subjects, purchased from Elizabeth the assurance of an asylum from their fury in England. But his son Theodore revoked it, and answered to the queen's remonstrances, that he was determined to rob neither his own subjects nor foreigners by subjecting to monopolies what should be free to all mankind. Camden. So superior was the commercial policy which natural justice taught this barbarian to the system which Elizabeth derived from her boasted learning and renowned ability, and which, in the progress of her reign, loaded the freedom and industry of her people with patents, monopolies, and exclusive companies.

how much the dignity and security of her crown and the welfare of her people depended on a naval force, she studiously encouraged navigation ; and so greatly increased the shipping of the kingdom, both by building large vessels herself, and by promoting ship-building among the merchants, that she was styled by her subjects the Restorer of Naval Glory and the Queen of the Northern Seas.¹ Rigidly just in discharging the ancient debts of the crown, as well as in fulfilling all her own particular engagements, — yet forbearing towards her people in the imposition of taxes ; frugal in the expenditure of her resources, and yet exerting a firm and deliberate perseverance in the prosecution of well directed projects ; the policy of her civil government at once conveyed good lessons to her subjects, and happily coincided with the general cast and bent of their genius and disposition.

During a reign thus favorable to commercial enterprise, the spirit that had been gradually pervading the steady minds of the English was called forth into active and vigorous exertion. Under the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and conducted by Martin Frobisher, an expedition was despatched for the discovery of a northwest passage to India [1578] : but after exploring the coasts of Labrador and Greenland, Frobisher was compelled to return with the tidings of disappointment. If the ardor of the English was damped by this failure, it was speedily reanimated by the successful effort of Sir Francis Drake, who, with a feeble squadron, undertook and accomplished the same enterprise that for sixty years had formed the peculiar glory of the Portuguese navigator Magellan, and obtained for England the honor of being the second nation that completely circumnavigated the globe. A general enthusiasm was produced by this splendid achievement, and a passion for naval exploits laid hold of almost all the leading spirits of the age.

Yet still, no project of effecting a permanent settlement abroad had been entertained or attempted by the English. The social happiness enjoyed by the subjects of Elizabeth enhanced those attractions that bind the hearts of men to their native

¹ Camden. Strype.

land, and that are rarely surmounted but by the experience of intolerable hardships at home, or the prospect of sudden enrichment abroad. Now the territory of North America presented none of the allurements that had incited and rewarded the Spanish adventurers ; it encouraged no hopes but of distant gain, and invited no exertions but of patient industry. The prevalence of the Protestant doctrines in England, and the increasing influence of a sense of religion on the minds of the people, disinclined many persons to abandon the only country where the Reformation appeared to be securely established ; engrossed the minds of others with schemes for the improvement of the constitution and ritual of their national church ; and probably repressed in some ardent spirits the epidemical thirst of adventure, and reconciled them to that moderate competency which the state of society in England rendered easily attainable, and the simplicity of manners preserved from contempt.

But if the immediate influence of religious principle was unfavorable to projects of colonization, it was to the further development of that noble principle that England was soon to be indebted for the most remarkable and interesting colonial establishment that she has ever possessed. The ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth was far from giving the same general satisfaction that her civil government afforded to her subjects. Inheriting the arrogant temper, the lofty pretensions, and the taste for pompous pageantry by which her father had been distinguished, without partaking his earnest zeal and sincere bigotry, she frequently blended religious considerations with her state policy, but suffered religious sentiments to exert little, if any, influence on her heart. Like him, she wished to render the establishments of Christian worship subservient to the indulgence of human pomp and vanity, and, by a splendid hierarchy and gorgeous ceremonial, mediate an agreement between the loftiness of her heart and the humility of the gospel. But the trials and afflictions which the English Protestants underwent from Mary had deepened and purified the religious sentiments of a great body of this people, and at the same time associated with many of the ceremonies retained in the national church the idea of popery and the recollection of persecution. This

repugnance between the sentiments of the men who now began to be termed *Puritans* and the ecclesiastical policy of the English government continued to increase during the whole of Elizabeth's reign : but as the influence which it exercised on the colonization of America was not manifested till the succeeding reign, the further account of it must be deferred till we come to trace its effects in the rise and progress of the settlements in New England.

During the present reign, there was introduced into England a branch of that inhuman traffic in negro slaves which afterwards engrossed so large a share of her commercial wealth and activity, and converted a numerous body of her merchants into a confederacy of robbers, and much of what she termed her *trade* into a system of the basest fraud and the most atrocious rapine and violence. The first Englishman who exposed himself and his country to this foul reproach was Sir John Hawkins, who subsequently attained a high nautical celebrity, and was created an admiral and treasurer of the British navy. His father, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of these countries, which he transmitted to his son in the copious journals he preserved of his travels and observations. In these compositions, he described the soil of America and the West Indies as endowed by nature with extraordinary richness and fertility, yet languishing in total unproductiveness from the actual want of cultivators. Europeans were represented as unequal to the toil of agriculture in so sultry a climate ; but the natives of Africa as peculiarly well adapted to this employment. Forcibly struck with his father's remarks, Hawkins deduced from them the project of transporting Africans into the western world ; and having composed a plan for the execution of this design, he produced it to some persons with whom he was acquainted, of opulent estate and enterprising disposition, and solicited their approbation and concurrence. A subscription was opened, and speedily completed, by Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and other individuals, who plainly perceived the large emolument that might be derived from the adventure proposed to them. By their assist-

ance, Hawkins was enabled to set sail for Africa in the year 1562 ; and having reached Sierra Leone, he began his commerce with the negroes. While he trafficked with them in the usual articles of barter, he took occasion to give them an inviting description of the country to which he was bound ; contrasting the fertility of its soil and the wealth of its inhabitants with the barrenness of Africa and the poverty of the African tribes. Finding that the unsuspecting negroes listened to him with implicit belief, and were greatly captivated with the European luxuries and ornaments which he displayed to their view, — he offered, if any of them were willing to exchange their destitute circumstances for a happier condition, to transport them to this more bountiful region, where he assured them of a friendly reception, and an ample participation in the enjoyments with which he had made them acquainted, as a certain recompense of easy labor. The negroes were ensnared by his flattering promises ; and three hundred of them, accepting his offer, consented to embark along with him for Hispaniola. On the night before their embarkation, they were attacked by a hostile tribe ; when Hawkins, hastening with his crew to their assistance, repulsed the assault, and carried a number of the assailants as prisoners on board his vessels. The next day he set sail with his mixed lading of human ware, and during the passage treated the negroes who voluntarily accompanied him with more kindness and indulgence than he extended to his prisoners of war. On his arrival at Hispaniola, he disposed of the whole cargo to great advantage, and endeavoured to inculcate on the Spaniards who bought the negroes the same distinction in the treatment of them which he himself had observed. But, having now put the fulfilment of his promises out of his own power, it was not permitted to him so to limit the evil consequences of his perfidy ; and the Spaniards, who had purchased all the Africans at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and treated them all alike.

When Hawkins returned to England with a rich freight of pearls, sugar, and ginger, obtained in exchange for his slaves, the success of his voyage excited universal interest and curiosity respecting the sources from which so much wealth had been

derived. At first, the nation was shocked with the barbarous aspect of a traffick in the persons of men ; and the public feeling having penetrated into the court, the queen sent for Hawkins to inquire in what manner this novel and extraordinary description of commerce was conducted ; declaring to him, that, " if any of the Africans were carried away without their own consent, it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers." Hawkins, in vindication of himself, protested that in no expedition which he conducted should any of the people of Africa (except captives obtained in defensive and legitimate war) be compulsorily removed from their native soil ; and he declared, that, so far from entertaining any scruple respecting the righteous nature of his traffic, he deemed it an act of humanity to carry men from a worse condition to a better, from a state of heathen barbarism to an opportunity of sharing the blessings of Christianity and civilization.¹ It is believed, indeed, and seems consonant with probability, that Hawkins did not himself contemplate the perpetual slavery of the negroes whom he sold, but expected that they would be advanced to the condition of free servants, whenever their labor had produced to their masters an equivalent for the expense of their purchase. The queen was satisfied with his explanation, and dismissed him with the assurance, that, while he and his associates acted with humanity, they might depend on her countenance and protection.

The very next voyage that Hawkins undertook demonstrated still more clearly than the former the deceitfulness of that unction which he had applied to his conscience, and the futility even of those intentions of which the fulfilment seemed to depend entirely on himself. In his passage he met with an English ship-of-war, which joined itself to the expedition and accompanied him to the coast of Africa. On his arrival, he began as formerly to traffic with the negroes, and endeavoured,

¹ This was the plea by which all the conductors and apologists of the slave-trade attempted to vindicate the practice in its infancy. The danger of hearkening to a policy that admits of " doing evil that good may come " was never more strikingly illustrated than by the descendants of those men, whom we have seen (both in America and the West Indies) enact laws prohibiting all education, moral, political, or religious, of their negro slaves, and even of emancipated negroes.

by reiteration of his former topics of persuasion, to induce them to embark in his vessels. But they now treated his advances with a reserve that betrayed jealousy of his designs. As none of their countrymen had returned from the former voyage, they were apprehensive that the English had killed and devoured them ; a supposition, which, however offensive to the English, did greatly and erroneously extenuate the inhumanity of which they were actually guilty. The crew of the ship-of-war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to deride the gentle and dilatory procedure to which Hawkins confined himself, and proposed immediate recourse to the summary process of impressment. The sailors belonging to his own vessels joined with the crew of the man-of-war, and, applauding their suggestion, made instant preparation for carrying it into effect. Hawkins protested against such lawless barbarity, and vainly endeavoured to prevail on them to desist from their purpose. But the instructions of the queen and the dictates of conscience were ineffectually cited to men whom he had initiated in piratical injustice, and who were not able to discover the moral superiority of courteous treachery over undisguised violence. They pursued their design, and, after various unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, another cargo of human beings was at last forcibly collected.¹ Such was the origin of the English branch of the slave-trade, which is here related the more minutely, not only on account of the remarkable and instructive circumstances that attended the commencement of the practice,² but on account of the influence which it subsequently exercised on the colonization and condition of some of the provinces of North America.

The spirit of adventure which had been awakened in the English nation found a more inviting scene of exertion in the southern than in the northern regions of America ; and when, after twenty years of peace, Elizabeth was engaged in war with her brother-in-law, Philip, the prospect of enrichment and renown to be gathered from the plunder of the Spanish colonies

¹ Hakluyt. Hill's *Naval History*. Hewit's *History of South Carolina and Georgia*.

² See Note I., at the end of the volume.

opened a new career, which was eagerly embraced and successfully prosecuted by numerous bands of enterprising men issuing from every rank of society in England. Accordingly, for many years, the most popular and notable exploits of the English were performed in the predatory hostilities which they waged with the colonies and colonial commerce of Spain. Even in scenes so unfavorable to the production or display of the better qualities of human nature, the manly character and moral superiority of the English were frequently and strikingly disclosed. Drake and other adventurers in the same career were men equally superior to avarice and fear; and, though willing to encounter hardship and danger in quest of wealth, they did not esteem it valuable enough to be acquired at the expense of honor and humanity.

And yet it was to this spirit, so unfavorable to industrious colonization, and so strongly attracted to a more congenial sphere in the South, that North America was indebted for the first attempt to colonize her territory. Thus irregular and incalculable (to created wisdom) is the influence of human passions on the stream of human affairs.

The most illustrious adventurer in England was Sir Walter Raleigh, a man endowed with brilliant genius, unbounded ambition, and unconquerable activity; whose capacious mind, stimulated by an ardent, elastic, and versatile spirit, and strongly impregnated with the enthusiasm, credulity, and sanguine expectation peculiar to the age, no single project, however vast or arduous, could wholly absorb. The extent of his capacity combined acquirements that are commonly esteemed remote and almost incompatible with each other. Framed in the prodigality of nature, he was at once the most industrious scholar and the most accomplished courtier of his age; as a projector, profound, ingenious, and indefatigable; as a soldier, prompt, daring, and heroic; so contemplative (says an old writer) that he might have been judged unfit for action, so active that he seemed to have no leisure for contemplation.¹ The chief defect of his mental temperament was the absence

¹ Lloyd's *State Worthies*. Raleigh's friend, Edmund Spenser, the poet, with a strange, fantastic mixture of images, has termed him, in a sonnet, *The Shepherd of the Ocean*.

of moderation and regulation of thought and aim. Smit with the love of glorious achievement, he had unfortunately embraced the maxim, that "whatever is not extraordinary is nothing"; and his mind (till the last scene of his life) was not sufficiently pervaded by religion to recognize that nobility of purpose, which ennobles the commonest actions, and elevates circumstances, instead of borrowing dignity from them. Uncontrolled by steady principle and sober calculation, the fancy and the passions of Raleigh transported him, in some instances, beyond the bounds of rectitude, honor, and propriety; and, seconded by the malevolence of his fortune, entailed reproach on his character and discomfiture on his undertakings. But though adversity might cloud his path, it could never depress his spirit or quench a single ray of his genius. He subscribed to his fortune with a noble grace, and by the universal consent of mankind his errors and infirmities have been deemed within the protection of his glory. The continual discomfiture of his efforts and projects served only to display the exhaustless opulence and indestructible vigor of that intellect of which no accumulation of disaster nor variety of discouragement could either repress the ardor or narrow the range. Amidst disappointment and impoverishment, pursued by royal hatred, and forsaken by his popularity, he continued to project and attempt the foundation of empires; and in old age and a prison he composed the *History of the World*. Perhaps there never was another instance of distinguished reputation as much indebted to genius and as little to success. So powerful, indeed, is the association that connects merit with success, and yet so strong the claim of Raleigh to elude the censure which this view implies, that we find it difficult to pronounce him, even amidst uninterrupted disaster, an unsuccessful man. Whatever judgment may be formed of his character, it must be acknowledged that in genius he was worthy of the honor, which he may, perhaps, be considered to have attained, of originating the settlements that grew up into the North American commonwealth.

In conjunction with a kindred spirit, his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America which Cabot had visited;

and a patent for this purpose was procured without difficulty, in favor of Gilbert, from Elizabeth. [1578.] This patent authorized him to explore and appropriate remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by Christian powers, and to hold them as a fief of the crown of England, to which he was obliged to pay the fifth part of the produce of their gold or silver mines ; it permitted the subjects of Elizabeth to accompany the expedition,¹ and guarantied to them a continuance of the enjoyment of the rights of free denizens of England ; it invested Gilbert with the powers of civil and criminal legislation over the inhabitants of the territory which he might occupy, — but with this limitation, that his laws should be framed with as much conformity as possible to the statutes and policy of England, and should not derogate from the supreme allegiance due to the English crown. The endurance of the patent, in so far as related to the appropriation of territory, was limited to six years ; and all other persons were prohibited from establishing themselves within two hundred leagues of any spot which the adventurers might occupy during that period.²

The arbitrary power thus committed to the leader of the expedition did not prevent the accession of a numerous body of subordinate adventurers. Gilbert had earned high and honorable distinction by his services, both in France and Ireland ; and the attractive influence of his reputation, combining with the spirit of the times, and aided by the zeal of Raleigh and the authority of Secretary Walsingham, enabled him speedily to collect a sufficient body of associates, and to accomplish the equipment of the first expedition of British emigrants to America. But in the composition of this body there were elements very ill fitted to establish an infant commonwealth on a solid or respectable basis ; the officers were disunited, the crew mutinous and licentious ; and, happily for the credit of England, it was not the will of Providence that the adventurers should gain

¹ This provision was necessary to evade the obstructions of the existing law of England. By the ancient law, as declared in the Great Charter of King John, all men might go freely out of the kingdom ; retaining, indeed, their allegiance to the king. But no such clause appears in the charter of his successor ; and during the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted, that any subject, departing the realm without a license under the great seal, should forfeit his personal estate and the rent of his landed property. 13 Eliz. cap. 3.

² Stith's *History of Virginia*. Hazard's *Historical Collections*.

a footing in any new region. Gilbert, approaching the American continent by too northerly a course, was dismayed by the inhospitable aspect of the coast of Cape Breton ; his largest vessel was shipwrecked ; and two voyages, in the last of which he himself perished, finally terminated in the defeat of the enterprise and dispersion of the adventurers.¹ [1583.]

But the ardor of Raleigh, neither daunted by difficulties nor damped by miscarriage, and continually refreshed by the suggestions of a fertile and uncurbed imagination, was incapable of abandoning a project that had gained his favor and exercised his energy. Applying to the queen, in whose esteem he then held a distinguished place, he easily prevailed with her to grant him a patent in all respects similar to that which had been previously bestowed upon Gilbert.² [1584.] Not less prompt in executing than intrepid in projecting his schemes, Raleigh soon despatched two small vessels, commanded by Amadas and Barlow, to visit the districts which he intended to occupy, and to examine the accommodations of their coasts, the productions of the soil, and the condition of the inhabitants. These officers, avoiding the error of Gilbert in steering too far north, shaped their course by the Canaries, and, approaching the North American continent by the Gulf of Florida, anchored in Roanoke Bay, off the coast of North Carolina. Worthy of the trust reposed in them, they behaved with much courtesy to the inhabitants of the region, whom they found living in all the rude independence, and laborless, but hardy, simplicity, of savage life, and of whose hospitality, as well as of the mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil, they published a flattering encomium, on their return to England. This intelligence diffused general satisfaction, and was so agreeable to Elizabeth, that, in exercise of the parentage she proposed to assume over the country, and as a memorial that the acquisition of it originated with a virgin queen, she thought proper to bestow on it the name of Virginia.³

A prospect so encouraging not only pricked forward the en-

¹ Hakluyt, III. 143.

² Stith. Hazard.

³ Smith. The country was so called (says Oldmixon) either in honor of the virgin estate of the queen, "or, as the Virginians will have, because it still seemed to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation." Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, 2d edit.

thusiastic spirit of Raleigh, but, by its influence on the minds of his countrymen, enabled him the more speedily to complete his preparations for a permanent colonial settlement ; and he was soon in a condition to equip and despatch a squadron of seven ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most heroic spirits of the time, and eminent for valor in an age distinguished by the numbers of the brave. But this gallant leader, unfortunately, was more infected with the spirit of predatory enterprise, at that time so prevalent among the English, than endued with the qualities which his peculiar duty on the present occasion required ; and, commencing his expedition by cruising among the West India islands and capturing the vessels of Spain, he initiated his followers in pursuits and views very remote from peaceful industry, patient perseverance, and moderation. At length he landed a hundred and eight men¹ at Roanoke [August, 1585] ; and left them there to attempt, as they best might, the arduous task of founding and maintaining a social establishment. The command of this feeble band was committed to Captain Lane, assisted by some persons of note, of whom the most eminent were Amadas, who had conducted the former voyage, and Thomas Heriot, the improver of algebraical calculation, — a man whose generous worth and wisdom might have preserved the colony, if these qualities had been shared by his associates, and whose unremitting endeavours to instruct the savages, and diligent inquiries into their habits and character, by adding to the stock of human knowledge, and extending the example of virtue, rendered the expedition not wholly unproductive of benefit to mankind. The selection of such a man to accompany and partake the enterprise reflects additional honor on his friend and patron, Raleigh. On their first arrival, the adventurers were regarded with the utmost awe and veneration by the savages, who, seeing no women among them, were inclined to believe them not born of woman, and therefore immortal. Heriot endeavoured to avail himself of the admiration they expressed for the guns, the clock, the telescopes, and other implements that attested the superiority of their visitors, in order to lead their minds to the great

¹ Smith, Book I.

Source of all sense and science. But while they hearkened to his instructions, they accommodated the import of them to their own depraved notions of Divine Nature ; they acknowledged that the God of the strangers was more powerful and more beneficent to his people than the deities whom they served, and expressed an eager desire to touch and embrace the Bible, and apply it to their breasts and heads.¹ In the hands of an artful or superstitious priest, such practices and dispositions would probably have produced a plentiful crop of pretended miracles and imaginary cures of diseases, and terminated in an exchange of superstition, instead of a renovation of moral nature. But Heriot was incapable of flattering or deceiving the savages by encouraging their idolatry and merely changing its direction ; he labored to convince them that the benefits of religion were to be obtained by acquaintance with the contents of the Bible, and not by an ignorant veneration of the exterior of the book. By these labors, which were too soon interrupted, he succeeded in making such impression on the minds of the Indians, that Wingina, their king, finding himself attacked by a dangerous malady, rejected the assistance of his own priests, and solicited the attendance and prayers of the English ; and his example was followed by many of his subjects.²

But, unfortunately for the stability of the settlement, the majority of the colonists were much less distinguished by piety or prudence than by eager and impetuous desire to obtain immediate wealth ; their first pursuit was gold ; and, smitten with the persuasion that every part of America was pervaded by ramifications of the mines which enriched the Spanish colonies, their chief efforts were directed to the acquisition of treasures that happily had no existence. The natives, discovering the object which the strangers sought with so much avidity, amused them with tales of a neighbouring region abounding with the precious metals, and possessing such quantities of pearl, that even the walls of the houses glittered with its lavish display.³ Eagerly listening to these agreeable fictions, the adventurers consumed their time and endured extreme hardships in pursuit of a phantom, while they neglected entirely the means of pro-

¹ Heriot, *apud* Smith.

² *Ibid.*

³ Smith.

viding for their future subsistence. The detection of the imposture produced mutual suspicion and disgust between them and the savages, and finally led to open enmity and acts of bloodshed. The stock of victuals brought with them from England was exhausted ; the additional supplies they had been taught to expect did not arrive ; and the hostility of the Indians left them no other dependence than on the precarious resources of the woods and rivers. Thus, struggling with increasing scarcity of food, and surrounded by enemies, the colonists were reduced to a state of the utmost distress and danger, when a prospect of deliverance was unexpectedly presented to them by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake with a fleet which he was conducting home from a successful enterprise against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Drake consented to supply them with an addition to their numbers and a liberal contribution of provisions ; and if this had been done, it seems probable, that, with the ample reinforcement soon after transmitted by Raleigh, the colonists might have been able to maintain their establishment in America. But Drake's intentions were frustrated by a storm, that carried out to sea the very ship which he had freighted with the requisite supplies ; and as he could not afford to weaken his fleet by a further contribution for their defence or subsistence, the adventurers, now completely exhausted and discouraged, unanimously determined to abandon the settlement. In compliance with their desire, Drake accordingly received them on board his vessels, and reconducted them to England.¹ [1586.] Such was the abortive issue of the first colonial settlement planted by the English in America.

Of the political consequences that resulted from this expedition, the catalogue, though far from copious, is not devoid of interest. An important accession was made to the scanty stock of knowledge respecting North America ; the spirit of mining adventure received a salutary check ; and the use of tobacco, already introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese into other parts of Europe, was now imported into England. This herb the Indians esteemed their principal medicine ;² and some tribes are said to have ascribed its virtues to the in-

¹ Smith.² Heriot, *apud* Smith.

habitation of one of those spiritual beings which they supposed to reside in all the extraordinary productions of nature. Lane and his associates, contracting a relish for its properties, brought a quantity of tobacco with them to England, and taught the use of it to their countrymen. Raleigh, in particular, adopted, and, with the help of some young men of fashion, encouraged, the practice, which soon established itself, and spread with a vigor that outran the help of courtiers and defied the hindrance of kings ; and, awakening a new and almost universal appetite in human nature, formed an important source of revenue to England, and multiplied the ties that united Europe with America.¹

But the disappointment that attended this enterprise did not terminate with the return of Lane and his followers to England. A few days after their departure from Roanoke, a vessel, despatched by Raleigh, reached the evacuated settlement with a plentiful contribution of all necessary stores ; and only a fortnight after this bark set sail to return from its bootless voyage, a still larger reinforcement of men and provisions arrived in three ships, equipped by Raleigh, and commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Disconcerted by the absence of the vessel that preceded him, and unable to obtain any tidings of the colonists, yet unwilling to abandon the possession of the country, Grenville landed fifty men at Roanoke, and, leaving them in possession of an ample supply of provisions, returned to England to communicate the state of affairs and obtain further directions.²

These successive defeats and mishaps excited much gloomy speculation and superstitious surmise in England,³ but could neither vanquish the hopes nor exhaust the resources of Raleigh,

¹ Queen Elizabeth herself, in the close of her life, became one of Raleigh's pupils in the accomplishment of smoking. One day, as she was partaking this indulgence, Raleigh betted with her that he could ascertain the weight of the smoke that should issue in a given time from her Majesty's mouth. For this purpose, he weighed first the tobacco, and afterwards the ashes left in the pipe, and assigned the difference as the weight of the smoke. The queen acknowledged that he had gained his bet ; adding, that she believed he was the only alchemist who had ever succeeded in turning smoke into gold. — Stith.

² Smith. "The Virginians positively affirm that Sir Walter Raleigh made this voyage in person." Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, 2d edit. But the generous wish alone seems to have been the parent of this notion.

³ Smith.

whose dauntless and aspiring mind still rose superior to all mischance. In the following year [1587], he fitted out and despatched three ships under the command of Captain White, with directions to join the small body that Grenville had established at Roanoke, and thence to transfer the settlement to the Bay of Chesapeake, of which the superior advantages were remarked in the preceding year by Lane. A charter of incorporation was granted to White and twelve of his principal associates, as Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia. In the hope of evading the unprosperous issue of the former expeditions, more efficacious means were adopted, in the equipment of this squadron, for preserving and continuing the colony. The stock of provisions was more abundant, the number of men greater, and the means of recruiting their numbers afforded by a competent intermixture of women. But the full extent of the precedent calamities had yet to be learned ; and on landing at Roanoke, in quest of the detachment that Grenville had placed there, White and his companions could find no other trace of it than the significant memorial presented by a dismantled fort and a heap of human bones.¹ The apprehensions excited by this melancholy spectacle were confirmed by the intelligence of a friendly native, who informed them that their countrymen had fallen victims to the enmity of the Indians. Instructed rather than discouraged by this calamity, they endeavoured to cultivate the good-will of the savages ; and, determining to remain at Roanoke, they hastened to repair the houses and restore the colony. One of the natives was baptized into the Christian faith, and, retaining an unshaken attachment to the English, contributed his efforts to pacify and conciliate his countrymen.² But, finding themselves destitute of many articles which they judged essential to their comfort and preservation in a country thickly covered with forests and peopled only by a few scattered tribes of savages, the colonists deputed their governor to solicit for them the requisite supplies ; and White repaired for this purpose to England. In his voyage thither he touched at a port in Ireland, where he is reported to have introduced

¹ Smith.² Ibid.

the first specimens ever seen in Europe of the potato plant, which he had brought with him from America. But whether this memorable importation was due to him, or, as some writers have affirmed, to certain of the earlier associates of Raleigh's adventures, it must be acknowledged that to the enterprise of Raleigh and the soil of America Great Britain is indebted for her acquaintance with the potato and with tobacco,—the staple article of diet, and the most cherished as well as the most innocent luxury, of a great portion of her people.

White arrived at a juncture very unfavorable for the success of his mission. England was now engrossed with the more immediate concern of self-preservation: the formidable armada of Spain was preparing to invade her, and the whole naval and military resources of the empire were placed under requisition for the purposes of national defence. The hour of his country's danger could not fail to present the most interesting employment to the generous spirit of Raleigh; yet he mingled with his distinguished efforts to repel the enemy some exertions for the preservation of the colony which he had planted. For this purpose, he had, with his usual promptitude, equipped a small squadron, which he committed to the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville, when the queen interposed to detain the ships that were adapted for fight, and to prohibit Grenville from leaving England at such a crisis. White, however, was enabled to reëmbark for America with two small vessels [1588]; but, yielding to the temptation of trying his fortune by the way in a cruise against the Spaniards, he was beaten by a superior force, and totally disabled from pursuing his voyage. The colony at Roanoke was, in consequence, left to depend on its own feeble resources, of which the diligent cultivation was not likely to be promoted by the hopes that were entertained of foreign succour. [1589.] What its fate was may be easily guessed, but never was certainly known. White, conducting an expedition to Roanoke in the following year, found the territory evacuated of the colonists, of whom no further tidings were ever obtained.¹

¹ Smith. Stith. Williamson's *History of North Carolina*.

This last expedition was not despatched by Raleigh, but by his successors in the American patent ; and our history is now to take leave of that illustrious man, with whose schemes and enterprises it ceases to have any farther connection. The ardor of his mind was not exhausted, but diverted by a multiplicity of new and not less important concerns. Intent on peopling and improving a large district in Ireland which the queen had conferred on him, engaged in the conduct of a scheme and the expense of an armament for establishing Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, and already revolving his last and wildest project of an expedition for the discovery of mines in Guiana, he found it impossible to continue either the attention or the expenditure which he had devoted to his American colony. Yet desiring with earnest inclination that a design which he had so gallantly and steadfastly pursued should not be entirely abandoned, and hoping that the spirit of commerce would preserve an intercourse with America that might terminate in a colonial settlement, he consented to assign his patent to Sir Thomas Smith and a company of merchants in London, who undertook to establish and maintain a traffic between England and Virginia. The patent which he thus transferred had already cost him forty thousand pounds, without affording him the slightest return of pecuniary profit ; yet the only personal consideration for which he stipulated with the assignees was a small share of whatever gold or silver ore they might eventually discover ; and he now bestowed on them, in addition to his previous disbursements, a donation of one hundred pounds, in aid of the efforts to which they pledged themselves for the propagation of Christianity in America.¹

It appeared very soon that Raleigh had transferred his patent to hands very different from his own. The last-mentioned expedition, which was productive of nothing but tidings of the miscarriage of a prior adventure, was the most notable effort that the London company exerted. Satisfied with a paltry traffic conducted by a few small vessels, they made no attempt to take possession of the country ; and at the period of Elizabeth's death, not a single Englishman was settled in

¹ Hazard. *Campbell's History of Virginia.*

America. The exertions of Raleigh, however, had united the views and hopes of his countrymen, by a strong association, with settlements in Virginia, and given a bias to the national spirit which only the encouragement of more favorable circumstances was wanting to develope. But the war with Spain, that endured till the close of Elizabeth's reign, allured men of enterprise and activity into the career of predatory adventure, and obstructed the formation of peaceable and commercial settlements.

The accession of James to the English crown [1603] was, by a singular coincidence, an event no less favorable to the colonization of America than fatal to the illustrious projector of this design. Peace was immediately concluded with Spain ; and England, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquillity, was enabled to direct to more bloodless pursuits the energies matured in a war which had excited the spirit of the nation without impairing its strength. From the inability of government, in that age, to collect all the disposable force of the empire for combined operation, war was chiefly productive of a series of partial efforts and privateering expeditions, which widely diffused the allurements of ambition and multiplied the opportunities of advancement. This had been remarkably exemplified in the contest with Spain ; and many ardent spirits, to which this contest had supplied opportunities of animating exertion and flattering ascendancy, became impatient of the restraint and inactivity to which the peace consigned them, and began to look abroad for a new sphere of activity and distinction.

The prevalence of such dispositions naturally led to a revival of the project of colonizing North America, which gained an additional recommendation to public favor from the success of a voyage undertaken in the last year of Elizabeth's reign. Bartholomew Gosnold, who planned and performed this voyage in a small vessel containing only thirty men, was led, by his experience in navigation, to suspect that the proper track from Europe to America had not yet been discovered, and that, in steering by the Canary Islands and the Gulf of Florida, a circuit of at least a thousand leagues was unnecessarily made. In prosecution of his conjecture, he abandoned the southern track, and, steering more to the westward, was the first navi-

gator who reached America by this directer course. He arrived at a more northerly quarter of the continent than any of Raleigh's colonists had visited, and, landing in the region which now forms the State of Massachusetts, he pursued an advantageous traffic with the natives, and freighted his vessel with abundance of rich peltry. He visited two adjacent islands, one of which he named Martha's Vineyard, the other Elizabeth's Island. The aspect of the country appeared so inviting and the climate so salubrious, that twelve of the crew at first determined to remain there ; but, reflecting on the melancholy fate of the colonists at Roanoke, they found their resolution unequal to their wishes ; and the whole party, reluctantly quitting the agreeable region, returned to England after an absence of less than four months.¹

The report of this expedition produced a strong impression on the public mind, and led to important consequences. Gosnold had discovered a route that greatly shortened the voyage to North America, and found a healthy climate, a fertile soil, and a coast abounding with excellent harbours. He had seen many fruits, that were highly esteemed in Europe, growing plentifully in the American woods ; and, having sown some European grain, beheld it germinate with rapidity and vigor. Encouraged by his success, and perhaps not insensible to the hope of finding gold and silver, or some new and lucrative article of commerce, in the unexplored interior of so fine a country, he endeavoured to procure associates in an enterprise to transport a colony to America. Similar projects were generated in various parts of the kingdom ; but the spirit of adventure was controlled by a salutary caution, awakened by the recollection of former disappointments.

These projects were zealously promoted by the counsel and encouragement of Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial science, the patron and counsellor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, the correspondent of the leaders who conducted them, and the historian of the exploits they gave rise to. At his suggestion,² two vessels were fitted out by

¹ Purchas. Smith. Stith.

² Smith.

the merchants of Bristol, and despatched to examine the discoveries of Gosnold and verify his statements. [1603.] They returned with an ample confirmation of the navigator's veracity. A similar expedition was equipped and despatched by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour¹ [1605], which not only produced farther testimony to the same effect, but reported so many additional particulars commendatory of the region, that all doubt and hesitation vanished from the minds of the projectors of American colonization; and an association, sufficiently numerous, wealthy, and powerful to undertake this enterprise, being speedily formed, a petition was presented to the king for his sanction of the plan, and the interposition of his authority towards its execution.

The attention of James had been previously directed to the advantages attending the plantation of colonies, at the time when he attempted to civilize the more barbarous clans of his original subjects by introducing detachments of industrious traders from the low country into the Highlands of Scotland.² Well pleased to resume a favorite speculation, and willing to encourage a scheme that opened a safe and peaceful career to the active genius of his new subjects, he hearkened readily to the application; and, highly commending the plan, acceded to the wishes of its projectors. Letters patent were issued [April, 1606] to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the seacoast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, together with all islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores. The design of the patentees was declared to be, "to make habitation and plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia"; and, as the main recommendation of the design, it was proclaimed, that "so noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may, in time, bring the infidels and savages

¹ Smith. Oldmixon.

² Robertson's *History of Scotland*.

living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government." The patentees were required to divide themselves into two distinct companies; the one consisting of London adventurers, whose projected establishment was termed the first or southern colony; the second or northern colony devolving on a company composed of merchants belonging to Plymouth and Bristol.

The territory appropriated to the first or southern colony was generally called Virginia, and preserved that appellation after the region assigned to the second or northern colony obtained, in 1614, the name of New England. The adventurers were authorized to transport to their respective territories as many English subjects as might be willing to accompany them, and to make shipments of arms and provisions for their use, with exemption from custom-house dues for the space of seven years. The colonists and their children were to enjoy the same liberties and privileges in the American settlements as if they had remained or been born in England.¹ The administration of each of the colonies was committed to two boards of council; the supreme government being vested in a board resident in England, which was to be nominated by the king, and directed in its proceedings by such ordinances as he might enact; and a subordinate jurisdiction, which included the functions of executive power, devolving on a colonial council, which, like the other, was to be created by royal appointment, and regulated by the application of royal wisdom and authority. Liberty to search for and open mines (which, under all the feudal governments, were supposed to have been originally reserved to the sovereign) was conferred on the colonists, — with an appropriation, however, of part of the mineral and metallic produce to the crown; and the more valuable privilege of unrestrained freedom of trade with other

¹ This provision (whether suggested by the caution of the prince or the apprehension of the colonists) occurs in almost all the colonial charters. It is, however, omitted in the most elaborate of them all, the charter of Pennsylvania, which was revised and finally adjusted by that eminent lawyer, the Lord Keeper Guildford. When King William was about to renew the charter of Massachusetts, after the British Revolution, he was advised by the ablest lawyers in England that such a provision was nugatory; the law necessarily inferring (they declared) that the colonists were Englishmen, and both entitled to the rights, and obliged to the duties, attached to the character of subjects of the English crown. Chalmers's *Annals*.

nations was also extended to them. The president and council within the colonies were authorized to levy duties on foreign commodities, which, for twenty-one years, were to be applied to the use of the adventurers, and afterwards to be paid into the royal exchequer.¹

The terms of this charter afford an illustration both of the character of the monarch who granted, and of the designs of the persons who procured it. By neither of these parties was the formation of a solid and liberal social establishment either aimed at or preconceived. The arbitrary spirit of the royal grantor is discernible in the subjection of the emigrant body to a corporation in which they were not represented, and over whose deliberations they possessed no control. There is likewise a manifest inconsistency between the assurance of participation in all the privileges of Englishmen to the colonists, and the reservation of legislative power exclusively to the king, the control of whose legislative functions constitutes the most valuable political privilege that Englishmen enjoy. But we have no reason to suppose that the charter was unacceptable to the patentees; on the contrary, its most objectionable provisions are not more congenial to the character of the king, than conformable to the views which the leading members of that body plainly appear to have entertained. Their object (notwithstanding the more liberal designs professed in the charter) was rather to explore the continent and appropriate its supposed treasures, by the agency of a body of adventurers over whom they retained an entire control, than to establish a permanent and extensive settlement. The instructions to the provincial governors, which accompanied the second shipment despatched by the London company, demonstrated, very disagreeably to the wiser emigrants and very injuriously to the rest, that the purposes with which their rulers were mainly engrossed were not patient industry and colonization, but territorial discovery and hasty gain.² In furtherance of these views, the leading patentees were careful, by mixing no women with the first emigrants, to retain the colony in dependence upon England for its supplies of

¹ Stith. Hazard.

² Smith.

people, and to give free scope to the cupidity and the roving spirit of minds, undivided by the cares, and unfixed by the habits and attachments, of domestic life.

The king appears to have entertained ideas somewhat more liberal, and a more genuine purpose of colonization, than the patentees. While their leaders were employed in making preparations to reap the benefits of their charter, James was assiduously engaged in the task, which his vanity rendered a rich enjoyment, and the well guarded liberties of England a rare one, of digesting a code of laws for the projected colonies. This code, issued under the sign manual and privy seal, enjoined the preaching of the gospel in America, and the performance of divine worship, in conformity with the doctrines and rites of the church of England. Legislative and executive functions within the colonies were conferred on the provincial councils ; but with this controlling provision, that laws originating there should, in substance, be consonant to the English laws ; that they should continue in force only till modified or repealed by the king or the supreme council in England ; and that their penal inflictions should not extend to death or demembration. Persons attempting to withdraw the colonists from their allegiance to the English crown were to be imprisoned ; or, in cases highly aggravated, to be remitted for trial to England. Tumults, mutiny, rebellion, murder, and incest were to be punished with death ; and for these offences the culprit was to be tried by a jury. Summary trial was appointed for inferior misdemeanours, and their punishment intrusted to the discretion of the president and council. Lands were to be holden by the same tenures that prevailed in England ; but, for five years after the plantation of each colony, a community of labor and gains was to have place among the colonists. Kindness to the heathen inhabitants of America, and the communication of religious instruction to them, were enjoined. And, finally, power was reserved to the king and his successors to enact further laws, in consistence always with the jurisprudence of England.¹

These regulations, in the main, are creditable to the sov-

¹ Stith.

ereign who composed them. No attempt was made, nor right pretended, to legislate for the Indian tribes of America ; and if the large territories, which these savages rather claimed than occupied, were appropriated and disposed of without any regard to their pretensions, at least no jurisdiction was assumed over their actions, and, in point of personal liberty, they were regarded as an independent people. This was an advance in equity beyond the practice of the Spaniards and the ideas of Queen Elizabeth, whose patent asserted the jurisdiction of the English crown and laws over the old as well as the new inhabitants of her projected colonies. In the criminal legislation of this code, we may observe a distinction which trial by jury has enabled to prevail over that ingenious and perhaps expedient rule of ancient colonial policy, which intrusted proconsular governors with the power of inflicting death, but restrained them from awarding less formidable penalties, as more likely to invite the indulgence of interest or caprice. If the charter, in some of its provisions, betrayed a total disregard of political liberty, the code, in establishing trial by jury, interwove with the very origin of society a habit and practice well adapted to cherish the spirit and principles of freedom.

The London company, to which the plantation of the southern colony was committed, applied themselves promptly to the formation of a colonial settlement. But, though many persons of distinction were included among the proprietors, their funds at first were scanty, and their early efforts proportionally feeble. Three small vessels, of which the largest did not exceed a hundred tons burden,¹ under the command of Captain Newport, formed the first squadron that was to execute what had been so long and so vainly attempted, and sailed with a hundred and five men destined to remain in America. Several of these emigrants were members of distinguished families, — particularly George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland ; and several were officers of reputation, — of whom we may notice Bartholomew Gosnold, the navigator, and Captain John Smith, one of the most distinguished ornaments of an age that was prolific of memorable men.

¹ Smith.

Thus, at length, after a research fraught with perplexity and disappointment, but assuredly not devoid of interest, into the sources of the great transatlantic commonwealth, we have reached the first inconsiderable spring, whose progress, opposed by innumerable obstructions, and nearly diverted in its very outset, yet always continuous, expands under the eye of patient inquiry into the grand and grandly spreading stream of American population. After the lapse of a hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and twenty-two years after its first occupation by Raleigh, was the number of the English colonists limited to a hundred and five ; and this handful of men ¹ undertook the arduous task of peopling a remote and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by tribes of savages and beasts of prey. Under the sanction of a charter, which bereaved Englishmen of their most valuable rights, and banished from the constitution of American society the first principles of liberty, were the foundations laid of the colonial greatness of England, and of the freedom and prosperity of America. From this period, or at least very shortly after, a regular and connected history ensues of the progress of Virginia and New England, the two eldest-born colonies, whose example promoted the rise, as their shelter protected the weakness, of the others which were successively planted and reared.

Newport and his squadron, pursuing, for some unknown reason, the wider compass taken by the first navigators to America, instead of the less circuitous track that had been recently ascertained, did not accomplish their voyage in a shorter period than four months ; but its termination was rendered peculiarly fortunate by the effect of a storm, which defeated their purpose of landing and settling at Roanoke, and carried them into the Bay of Chesapeake. [April, 1607.] As they advanced through its waters, they easily perceived the advantage that would be gained by establishing their settlement on the shores of this spacious haven, replenished by the tributary floods of so many great rivers, which fertilize the soil of that extensive district

¹ " Never was the prophetic declaration, that ' a little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation,' more wonderfully exemplified than in the planting and rearing of these colonies." General Cass. *Discourse*. (1836.)

of America, and, affording commodious inlets into the interior parts, facilitate their foreign commerce and mutual communication. Newport first landed on a promontory forming the southern boundary of the bay, which, in honor of the Prince of Wales, he named Cape Henry. Thence, coasting the southern shore, he entered a river which the natives called Powhatan, and explored its banks for the space of forty miles from its mouth. Impressed with the superior convenience of the coast and soil to which they had been thus happily conducted, the adventurers unanimously determined to make this the place of their abode. They gave to their infant settlement, as well as to the neighbouring river, the name of their king; and Jamestown retains the distinction of being the oldest existing habitation of the English in America.¹

But the dissensions that broke out among the colonists soon threatened to deprive them of all the advantages of their fortunate territorial position. Their animosities were inflamed by an arrangement, which, if it did not originate with the king, at least betrays a strong affinity to that ostentatious mystery and driftless artifice which he affected as the perfection of political dexterity. The names of the provincial council were not communicated to the adventurers when they departed from England; but the commission which contained them was inclosed in a sealed packet, which was directed to be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, when the counsellors were to be installed in their office, and to elect their own president. The disagreements, incident to a long voyage and a band of adventurers rather conjoined than united, had free scope among men unaware of the relations they were to occupy towards each other, and of the subordination which their relative and allotted functions might imply; and when the names of the council were proclaimed, the disclosure was far from affording satisfaction. Captain Smith, whose superior talents and spirit excited the envy and jealousy of his colleagues, was excluded from a seat in the council which the commission authorized him to assume, and even accused of traitorous designs so unproved and improbable, that none less believed the charge than the persons who preferred

¹ Stith.

it. The privation of his counsel and services in the difficulties of their outset was a serious loss to the colonists, and might have been attended with ruin to the settlement, if his merit and generosity had not been superior to their mean injustice. The jealous suspicions of the individual who was elected president restrained the use of arms, and discouraged the construction of fortifications ; and a misunderstanding having arisen with the Indians, the colonists, unprepared for hostilities, suffered severely from one of the sudden attacks characteristic of the warfare of those savages.¹

Newport had been ordered to return with the ships to England ; and as the time of his departure approached, the accusers of Smith, with affected clemency, proposed that he also should return with Newport, instead of abiding a criminal prosecution in Virginia. But, happily for the colony, he scorned so to compromise his integrity ; and, demanding a trial, was honorably acquitted, and took his seat in the council.²

The fleet was better victualled than the magazines of the colony ; and while it remained with them, the colonists were permitted to share the plenty enjoyed by the sailors. But when Newport set sail for England, they found themselves limited to scanty supplies of unwholesome provisions ; and the sultry heat of the climate, and moisture of a country overgrown with wood, coöperating with the defects of their diet, brought on diseases that raged with fatal violence. Before the month of September, one half of their number had miserably perished ; and among these victims was Bartholomew Gosnold, who planned the expedition, and materially contributed to its accomplishment. This scene of suffering was embittered by internal dissensions. The president was accused of embezzling the public stores, and finally detected in an attempt to seize a pinnacle and escape from the colony and its calamities. At length, in the extremity of their distress, when ruin seemed to impend alike from famine and the fury of the savages, the colonists obtained a complete and unexpected deliverance, which the piety of Smith ascribed to the influence of God in

¹ Smith.

² Ibid

suspending the passions and controlling the sentiments and purposes of men. The savages, actuated by a sudden and generous change of feeling, not only refrained from molesting them, but gratuitously brought to them a supply of provisions so liberal, as at once to dissipate their apprehensions of famine and hostility.¹

Resuming their spirit, the colonists now proved themselves not wholly uninstructed by their misfortunes. In seasons of exigency merit is illustrated, and the envy that pursues it is absorbed by deeper interest and alarm. The sense of common and urgent danger promoted a willing and even eager submission to the man whose talents were most likely to extricate his companions from the difficulties with which they were encompassed. Every eye was now turned on Smith, and with universal acclaim his fellow-colonists devolved on him the authority which they had formerly shown so much jealousy of his acquiring. This individual, whose name will be for ever associated with the foundation of civilized society in America, was descended of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune. At an early age, his lively mind was deeply smitten with the spirit of adventure that prevailed so strongly in England during the reign of Elizabeth; and yielding to his inclination, he had passed through a great variety of military service, with little pecuniary gain, but high reputation, and with the acquisition of an experience the more valuable that it was obtained without exhausting his ardor or tainting his morals.² The vigor of his constitution had preserved his health unimpaired amidst the general sickness; the undaunted mettle of his soul retained his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded, amidst the general misery and dejection; and his adventurous zeal, which once attracted the reproach of overweening ambition, was now felt to diffuse an animating glow of hope and courage among all around him. A strong sense of religion predominated over the well proportioned qualities of his mind, refreshed his confidence, extended and yet regulated his views, and gave dignity to his character and consistency to his conduct. Assuming the direction of the

¹ Smith.

² Stith.

affairs of the colonists, he promptly adopted the only policy that could save them from destruction. Under his directions, Jamestown was fortified by such defences as were sufficient to repel the attacks of the savages ; and by dint of great labor, which he was always the foremost to partake, its inhabitants were provided with dwellings that afforded shelter from the weather, and contributed to restore and preserve their health. Finding the supplies of the savages discontinued, he put himself at the head of a detachment of his people, and penetrated into the interior of the country, where, by courtesy and liberality to the tribes whom he found well disposed, and vigorous retribution of the hostility of such as were otherwise minded, he succeeded in procuring a plentiful stock of provisions.¹

In the midst of his successes, he was surprised [1607] during an expedition by a band of hostile savages, who, having made him prisoner, after a gallant and nearly successful defence, prepared to inflict on him the usual fate of their captives. His genius and presence of mind did not desert him in this trying emergency. He desired to speak with the sachem or chief of the tribe to which he was a prisoner ; and presenting him with a mariner's compass, expatiated on the wonderful discoveries to which this little instrument had contributed, — descanted on the shape of the earth, the extent of its lands and oceans, the course of the sun, the varieties of nations, and the singularity of their relative terrestrial positions, which made some of them antipodes to the others. With equal prudence and magnanimity he refrained from any expression of solicitude for his life, which would infallibly have weakened or counteracted the effect which he studied to produce. The savages listened to him with amazement and admiration. They had handled the compass, and viewing with surprise the play of the needle, which they plainly saw, but found it impossible to touch, from the intervention of the glass, were prepared by this marvellous object for the reception of those sublime and interesting communications by which their captive endeavoured to gain ascendancy over their minds. For an hour after he

¹ Smith. Stith.

had finished his discourse, they remained undecided ; till, their accustomed sentiments reviving, they resumed their suspended purpose, and, having bound him to a tree, prepared to despatch him with their arrows. But a deeper impression had been made on their chief ; and his soul, enlarged for a season by the admission of knowledge, or subdued by the influence of wonder, revolted from the dominion of habitual barbarity. This chief bore the harsh and uncouth appellation of Opechancanough, — a name which the subsequent history of the province was to invest with no small terror and celebrity. Holding up the compass in his hand, he gave the signal of reprieve ; and Smith, though still guarded as a prisoner, was conducted to a dwelling, where he was kindly treated and plentifully entertained.¹ But the strongest impressions pass away, while the influence of habit remains. After vainly attempting to prevail on their captive to betray the English colony into their hands, the Indians referred his fate to Powhatan, the emperor or principal sachem of the country, to whose presence they conducted him in triumphal procession. This prince received him with much ceremony, ordered a plentiful repast to be set before him, and then adjudged him to suffer death by having his head laid on a stone and beaten to pieces with clubs. At the place appointed for his execution, Smith was again rescued from impending destruction by the interposition of Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of the king, who, finding her first entreaties, in deprecation of the captive's intended fate, disregarded, threw her arms around him, and passionately declared her determination to save him or die with him. Her generous humanity prevailed over the cruelty of her tribe ; and the king not only gave Smith his life, but soon after sent him back to Jamestown, where the beneficence of Pocahontas continued to follow him with supplies of provisions, that delivered the colonists from famine.²

After an absence of seven weeks, Smith returned to Jamestown, barely in time to prevent the desertion of the colony. His associates, reduced to the number of thirty-eight, impatient of farther stay in a country where they had met with so

¹ Smith. Stith.

² Smith.

many discouragements, and in which they seemed fated to reenact the disasters of Roanoke, were preparing to abandon the settlement ; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and alternately employing persuasion, remonstrance, and even violent interference, that Smith prevailed on them to relinquish their design.¹ The provisions that Pocahontas sent to him relieved their present wants ; his account of the plenty he had witnessed among the Indians revived their hopes ; and he endeavoured, by a diligent improvement of the favorable impressions he had made on the savages, and by a judicious regulation of the intercourse between them and the colonists, to promote a coalition of interests and reciprocation of advantages between the two races of people. His generous efforts were successful ; he preserved a steady and sufficient supply of food to the English, and extended his influence and consideration with the Indians, who began to respect and consult their former captive as a superior being. If Smith had sought only to magnify his own repute and establish his supremacy, he might easily have passed with the savages for a demi-god ; for they were not more averse to yield the allegiance which he claimed for their Creator, than forward to tender an abject homage to himself, and to ratify the loftiest pretensions he might advance in his own behalf. But no alluring prospect of dominion over men could tempt him to forget that he was the servant of God, or aspire to be regarded in any other light by his fellow-creatures. With uncompromising sincerity he labored to divert the savages from their idolatrous superstition, and made them all aware, that the man, whose superiority they acknowledged, despised their false deities, adored the true God, and obtained from his gracious communication the wisdom which they so highly commended. His pious exertions were obstructed by imperfect acquaintance with their language, and very ill seconded by the conduct of his associates, which contributed to persuade the Indians that his religion was something peculiar to his own person. Partly from the difficulties of his situation, partly from the defectiveness of his tuition, and, doubtless, in no small degree, from the stubborn blindness and

¹ Smith.

wilful ignorance of the persons whom he attempted to instruct, Smith succeeded no farther than Heriot had formerly done. The savages extended their respect for the man to a Being whom they termed “the God of Captain Smith”; and some of them acknowledged that this Being excelled their own deities in the same proportion that artillery excelled bows and arrows, and sent deputies to Jamestown to entreat that Smith would pray for rain, when their idols seemed indisposed or unable to afford them a supply.¹ They were willing enough to believe in gods made after the image of themselves, and in the partial control exercised by those *superior beings* over the affairs of men; but the announcement of an *Almighty Creator*, the great source and support of universal existence, presented a notion which their understandings refused to admit, and required a homage which their hearts revolted from yielding.

While the affairs of the colony were thus prospering under the direction of Captain Smith, a reinforcement of a hundred and twenty men, with an abundant stock of provisions, and a supply of vegetable seeds and instruments of husbandry, arrived in two vessels from England. [1608.] The colonists were not a little gladdened by this accession to their comforts and their force. But, unhappily, the jealousies, which danger had restrained rather than extinguished, again budded forth in this gleam of prosperity; the ascendancy which Smith exercised over the Indians excited the envy of the very persons whose lives it had preserved; and his authority now began sensibly to decline. Nor was it long before the cessation of his influence, together with the defects in the composition of the new body of emigrants, gave rise to the most serious mischiefs in the colony. The restraints of discipline were relaxed, and a free traffic was permitted with the natives, who speedily began to complain of fraudulent and unequal dealing, and to exhibit their former animosity. In an infant settlement, where the views and pursuits of men are unfixed, and habitual submission to authority has yet to be formed, the welfare, and indeed the existence, of society are much more dependent on the manners and moral character of individuals, than on the influence of

¹ Smith.

laws. But in recruiting the population of this colony, too little consideration was shown for those habits and occupations which must everywhere form the basis of national prosperity. This arose as well from the peculiar views of the proprietors, as from the circumstances of the English people, whose working classes were by no means overcrowded, and among whom, consequently, the persons, whose industry and moderation best qualified them to form a new settlement, were the least disposed to abandon their native country. Of the recruits newly arrived in the colony, a large proportion were *gentlemen*, a few were *laborers*, and several were *jewellers* and *refiners of gold*.¹ Unfortunately, some of this latter description of artists soon found an opportunity of exercising their peculiar departments of industry, and of demonstrating (though too late) their complete deficiency even of the worthless qualifications which they professed.

A small stream of water, issuing from a bank of sand near Jamestown, was found to deposit in its channel a glittering sediment which resembled golden ore, and was fondly mistaken for this precious material by the colonists. Only this discovery was wanting to reawaken the passions which America had so fatally kindled in the bosoms of her first European invaders. The deposition of the ore was supposed to indicate the neighbourhood of a mine ; every hand was eager to explore ; and considerable quantities of the dust were amassed, and subjected to the scrutiny of ignorance prepossessed by the strongest and most deceptive of human passions, and misled by the blundering guidance of superficial pretenders to superior skill. Smith exerted himself to disabuse his countrymen, and vainly strove to stem the torrent that threatened to devastate all their prospects ; assuring them, with prophetic wisdom, that to addict themselves to mining in preference to agriculture would be to squander and misdirect, in pursuit of a phantom, the exertions on which their subsistence depended. The deceptive dust, having undergone an unskilful assay of the refiners who had recently been united to the colony, was pronounced to be ore of a very rich quality ; and from that moment the thirst of gold

¹ Smith.

was inflamed into a rage that reproduced those extravagant excesses, but, happily, without conducting to the same profligate enormities, for which the followers of Cortés and Pizarro were distinguished. All productive industry was suspended, and the operations of mining occupied the whole conversation, engrossed every thought, and absorbed every effort of the colonists. The two vessels that had brought their late supplies, returning to England, the one laden with this valueless dross, and the other with cedar wood, carried the first remittance that an English colony ever made from America. [June, 1608.] They conveyed back with them, also, some persons who had been invested and despatched to the colony with the absurdly inappropriate appointments of Admirals, Records, Chronologers, and Justices of the Peace, — a supply as useless to America as the remittance of dust was to Europe.¹

Foreseeing the disastrous issue to which the delusion of his associates inevitably tended, Captain Smith, with the hope of preventing some of its most fatal consequences, conceived the project of extending his researches far beyond the range they had hitherto attained, and of exploring the whole of the great Bay of Chesapeake, for the purpose of ascertaining the qualities and resources of its territories, and promoting a beneficial intercourse with the remoter tribes of its inhabitants. This arduous design he executed with determined resolution and proportional success ; and while his fellow-colonists were actively engaged in disappointing the hopes of England, and rivalling the sordid excesses that had characterized the adventurers of Spain, he singly sustained the honor of his country, and, warmed with a nobler emulation, achieved an enterprise that equals in dignity, and surpasses in value, the most celebrated exploits of the Spanish discoverers. When we compare the slenderness of the auxiliary means which he possessed, with the magnitude of the results which he accomplished, with the hardships he endured, and the difficulties he overcame, we recognize in this achievement a monument of human power no less eminent than honorable, and willingly transmit a model so well calculated to warm the genius, to animate the fortitude,

¹ Smith. Stith.

and sustain the patience of mankind. With his friend, Dr. Russell, and a small company of followers, whose fortitude and perseverance he was frequently obliged to resuscitate, and over whom he possessed no other authority than the ascendant of a vigorous character and superior intelligence, he performed, in an open boat, two voyages of discovery, that occupied more than four months, and embraced a navigation of above three thousand miles. With prodigious labor and extreme peril, he visited every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeake, from Cape Charles to the River Susquehannah; he sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls, and diligently examined the successive territories into which he penetrated, and the various tribes that possessed them. He brought back with him an account so ample, and a plan so accurate, of that great portion of the American continent now comprehended in the States of Virginia and Maryland, that all the subsequent researches which it has undergone have only expanded and illustrated his original view; and his map has been made the groundwork of all posterior delineations, with no other diversity than what has inevitably arisen from the varieties of appropriation and the progress of settlements. But to come and to see were not his only objects; to win was also the purpose of his enterprise, and the effect of his exertions. In his intercourse with the various tribes which he visited, he displayed the genius of a commander, in a happy exercise of all those talents that overcome the antipathies of a rude people, and gain at once the respect and good-will of mankind. By the wisdom and liberality with which he negotiated and traded with the friendly, and by the courage and vigor with which he repelled and overcame the hostile, he succeeded in inspiring the savages with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation, and paved the way to an intercourse that promised important advantage to the Virginian colony.¹ This was, indeed, the heroic age of North America; and such were the men, and such the labors, by which the first foundations of her greatness and prosperity were laid.

While this expedition was in progress, the golden dreams

¹ Russell, *apud* Smith. Bagnal, *ead. loc.*

of the colonists were finally dispelled ; and they had awaked to all the miseries of sickness, scarcity, disappointment, and discontent, when Smith once more returned to reanimate their drooping spirits with his success, and relieve their wants by the resources he had created. Shortly after his return, he was chosen President by the council [10th Sept. 1608] ; and accepting the office, he employed his influence so efficiently with the savages, that immediate scarcity was banished, and exerted his authority so vigorously and judiciously in the colony, that orderly dispositions and industrious habits began generally to prevail, and gave promise of lasting plenty and steady improvement.¹ If we compare the actions of Smith, during the period of his presidency, with the enterprise that immediately preceded his election, it may appear, at first view, that the sphere of his exertions was contracted and degraded by his official elevation ; and we might almost be tempted to regret the returning reasonableness of the colonists, which, by confining this active spirit to the petty details of their government, withdrew it from a range more congenial to its excursive vigor, and more fraught with general advantage to mankind. Yet, deeper and wiser reflection suggests, that a truly great mind, especially when united with an ardent temper, will never be contracted by the seeming restriction of its sphere, but will always be nobly as well as usefully employed, and not the less nobly when it dignifies what is ordinary, and improves those models that invite the widest imitation and are most level with common opportunities.

Accordingly, when we examine the history of that year over which the official supremacy of Captain Smith was extended, and consider the results of the multifarious details which it embraces,² we discern a dignity as real, though not so glaring, as that which invests his celebrated voyage of discovery ; and are sensible of consequences even more interesting to human nature than any which this expedition produced. In a small society, where no great actual inequality of accommodation could exist, where power derived no aid from pomp, circumstance, or mystery, and where he owed his office to the ap-

¹ Stith.

² Smith.

pointment of his associates, and held it by the tenure of their good-will,¹ he preserved order and enforced morality among a crew of dissolute and disappointed men ; and so successfully opposed his authority to the allurements of indolence, strengthened by their previous habits and promoted by the community of gains that then prevailed, as to introduce and maintain a respectable degree of laborious and even contented industry. What one governor afterwards achieved, in this respect, by the influence of an imposing rank, and others by the strong engine of martial law, Smith, without such aid, and with greater success, accomplished by the continual application of his own superior sense and his preëminent vigor, fortitude, and activity. Some plots were formed against him ; but these he detected and defeated without either straining or compromising his authority. The caprice and suspicion of the Indians involved him in numberless trials of his temper and capacity. Even Powhatan, notwithstanding the friendly ties that united him to his ancient guest, was induced, by the treacherous artifices of certain Dutchmen who deserted to him from Jamestown, first to form a secret conspiracy, and then to excite and prepare open hostility against the colonists. [1609.] Some of the fraudulent designs of the royal savage were revealed by the unabated kindness of Pocahontas ; others were detected by Captain Smith ; and from them all he contrived to extricate the colony with honor and success, and yet with little and only defensive bloodshed ; displaying to the Indians a vigor and sagacity they could neither overcome nor overreach, a courage that excited their admiration, and a generosity that carried his victory into their minds, and reconciled submission with their pride. He was ever superior to that political timidity, which,

¹ It was the testimony of his soldiers and fellow-adventurers, says Stith, "that he was ever fruitful in expedients to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing he either had or could procure ; that he rather chose to lead than send his soldiers into danger ;" that, in all their expeditions, he partook the common fare, and never gave a command that he was not ready to execute ; "that he would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay ; that he had nothing in him counterfeit or shy, but was open, honest, and sincere." Stith adds, respecting this founder of civilized society in North America, what the son of Columbus has, with a noble elation, recorded of his father, that, though habituated to naval manners, and to the command of factious and licentious men, he never was guilty of profane swearing.

in circumstances of danger, suggests not the proportionate, but always the strongest and most violent, remedy and counteraction ; and admirably illustrated the chief political uses of talent and virtue, in accomplishing the objects of government by gentler efforts and milder means than stupidity and ferocity would have ventured to employ. In demonstrating (to use his own words) " what small cause there is that men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry,"¹ he bequeathed a valuable lesson to his successors in the American colonies, and to all succeeding settlers in the vicinity of savage tribes ; and in exemplifying (though, it must be confessed, only for a brief period and on a small scale) the power of a civilized people to anticipate the cruel and vulgar issue of battle, and to prevail over an inferior race without either extirpating or enslaving them, he obtained a victory, which Cæsar, with all his boasted superiority to the rest of mankind, was too ungenerous to appreciate, or was incompetent to achieve.

There was one point, indeed, in which it must be confessed that his conduct to the Indians was chargeable with defect of justice and good policy ; though the blame of this error must be divided between himself and the royal patentees whom he served, and, in addition to other palliating circumstances, was disguised by its conformity with the universal and unproved practice of European settlers in barbarous lands. No part of the territory which the first colonists occupied was purchased from the rude tribes who considered themselves its owners, and who probably at first regarded with little apprehension the settlement of a handful of strangers in a valueless corner of their wide domains. The colonists, indifferent to the opinion of the Indians, seem not to have conceived that the important right of property in land could be derived from occasional visitations of savage hunters, and readily took, as from the hands of nature, the territory which appeared to them to have been never reclaimed from its natural wildness and vacancy by deliberate occupation or industrial use. If they had reasoned upon the matter, they would

¹ Smith.

probably have denied the right of the Indians to defeat the chief end of so large a portion of the earth, and restrict to an ignoble ministration to the idle subsistence of a few barbarians the soil which industry and virtue might render subservient to the diffusion of civility and the extension of life. But if their views had been regulated by the same equity and moderation which distinguished the later colonists of North America, they might have ascertained that their interests would be at once more cheaply and more humanely promoted by recognizing than by disputing the pretensions of the Indians ; who, if they claimed land by a title which Europeans accounted unworthy of respect, were generally willing to part with it for a price which Europeans found it very easy to pay. It was reserved for the Puritan fathers of New England to set the first example of more liberal justice, and more impartial consideration of the rights of mankind ; and, by a transaction in which sound policy and refined morality were happily blended, to mediate an amicable agreement between their own wants and the claim which the Indians asserted on the territorial resources of the country.

Captain Smith was not permitted to complete the work which he so well began. His administration was unacceptable to the company in England, for the same reasons that rendered it beneficial to the settlers in America. The patentees, very little concerned about the establishment of a happy and respectable community, had fondly counted on the accumulation of sudden wealth by the discovery of a shorter passage than was yet ascertained to the South Sea, or the acquisition of territory replete with mines of the precious metals. In these hopes they were hitherto disappointed ; and the state of affairs in the colony was far from betokening even the retribution of the expenditure which they had already incurred. The prospect of a settled and improving state of society at Jamestown, so far from meeting their wishes, threatened to promote the growth of habits and interests perfectly incompatible with them. Still hoping, therefore, to realize their avaricious dreams, they conceived it necessary for this purpose to resume all authority into their own hands, and to abolish every semblance or substance of jurisdiction originating in America.¹ In order to for-

¹ Smith.

tify their pretensions, as well as to increase their funds, they now courted the acquisition of additional associates ; and, having strengthened their interests by the accession of some persons of the highest rank and influence in the realm, they applied for and obtained a new charter.

If the arbitrary introduction of a new charter [23d May, 1609] proclaimed an entire disregard of the rights of the colonists who had emigrated on the faith of the original one, the provisions peculiar to the new charter demonstrated no less plainly the intention of restricting the civil liberty of those emigrants, and increasing their dependence on the English patentees. The new charter was granted to twenty-one peers, ninety-eight knights, and a great multitude of doctors, esquires, gentlemen, merchants, and citizens, and sundry of the corporations of London, in addition to the former adventurers ; and the whole body was incorporated by the title of " The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." The boundaries of the colonial territory and the power of the corporation were enlarged ; the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished ; a new council was established in England, and the company empowered to fill all future vacancies in it by election ; and to this council was committed the power of new-modelling the magistracy of the colony, of enacting all the laws that were to have place in it, and nominating all the officers by whom these laws were to be carried into execution. Nevertheless, was it still formally stipulated that the colonists and their posterity should retain all the rights of Englishmen. To prevent the doctrines of the church of Rome from gaining admission into the plantation, it was announced that no persons would be allowed to settle in Virginia without having previously taken the oath of supremacy.¹

The new council appointed Lord Delaware governor and captain-general of the colony ; and the hopes, inspired by the distinguished rank and respectable character of this nobleman, contributed to strengthen the company by a considerable accession of funds and associates. Availing themselves of the favorable disposition of the public, they equipped without loss

¹ Stith. Hazard.

of time a squadron of nine ships, and despatched them with five hundred emigrants, under the command of Captain Newport, who was authorized to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware with the remainder of the recruits and supplies. But by an unlucky combination of caution and indiscretion, the same powers were severally intrusted to Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, without any adjustment of precedence between the three functionaries ; and they, finding themselves unable to settle this point among themselves, agreed to embark on board the same vessel, and to be companions during the voyage, — thus deliberately provoking and eventually producing the disappointment of the main object which their association in authority was intended to secure. The vessel that contained the triumvirate was separated from the fleet by a storm, and stranded on the coast of Bermudas.¹ The residue of the squadron arrived safely at Jamestown ; but so little were they expected, that, when they were first descried at sea, they were mistaken for enemies ; and this rumor gave occasion to a very satisfactory proof of the friendly disposition of the Indians, who came forward with the utmost alacrity, and offered to fight in defence of the colony.²

These apprehensions, which were dissipated by the nearer approach of the fleet, gave place to more substantial and more formidable evils, arising from the composition of the reinforcement which it brought to the colonial community. A great proportion of the new emigrants consisted of profligate and licentious youths, sent from England by their friends with the hope of changing their destinies, or for the purpose of screen-

¹ It was probably this disaster which produced the only mention of the American regions which we find in the works of Shakspeare. In *The Tempest*, which was composed about three years after this period, Ariel celebrates the stormy coast of "the still vexed Bermudas." An allusion to the British settlements in America is couched in the prophecy which Shakspeare, in the last scene of *King Henry the Eighth*, imputes to Cranmer respecting King James, — that,

"Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
His honor and the greatness of his name
Shall be, and make new nations."

Milton, I believe, has never mentioned America, except in his casual allusion (*Paradise Lost*, B. IX.) to the condition of the Indians when they were first visited by Columbus.

² Smith. Stith.

ing them from the justice or contempt of their country ; of indigent gentlemen, too proud to beg, and too lazy to work ; tradesmen of broken fortunes and broken spirit ; idle retainers, of whom the great were eager to rid themselves ; and dependents too infamous to be decently protected at home ; with others, like these, more likely to corrupt and prey upon an infant commonwealth than to improve or sustain it.¹ The leaders of this pernicious crew, though devoid of legal documents entitling them to supersede the existing authority, proclaimed the changes which the constitution of the colony had undergone, and hastened to execute that part of the innovation which consisted in the overthrow of the provincial presidency and council. Their conduct soon demonstrated that their title to assume authority was not more defective than their capacity to exercise it. Assuming supreme jurisdiction, they were unable to devise any frame of government, or establish even among themselves any fixed subordination ; sometimes the old commission was resorted to ; sometimes a new model attempted ; and the chief direction of affairs passed from hand to hand in one uninterrupted succession of folly and presumption. The whole colony was thrown into confusion by the revolutionary state of its government ; and the Indian tribes were alienated and exasperated by the turbulence, injustice, and insolence of the new settlers.

This emergency summoned the man, who had already more than once rescued the settlement from ruin, again to attempt its deliverance. The call was seconded by the wishes of the best and wisest of the colonists ; and, aided as much by the vigor of his own character as by the coöperation of these individuals, Smith reassumed his natural ascendant and official supremacy, and declared his intention of retaining the authority created by the old commission, till a legal revocation of it and legitimate successors to himself should arrive. With a determined vigor of purpose, to which instant acquiescence was yielded, he imprisoned the chief promoters of tumult ; and, having restored order and obedience, endeavoured to prevent a recurrence of the former mischiefs by detaching from James-

¹ Stith.

town a portion of the new colonists to form a subordinate settlement at some distance from this place. This was an unfortunate step ; and it is remarkable that the only signal failing in the policy of this eminent commander was evinced in the only instance in which he seemed to distrust his own vigor and capacity. The detachments which he removed from Jamestown conducted themselves so imprudently as to convert all the neighbouring Indians into enemies, and to involve themselves in continual difficulty and danger. The Indians assailed him with complaints ; the detached settlers with requisitions of counsel and assistance ; and Smith, who never spent in lamenting misfortunes the time that might be employed in repairing them, was exerting himself with his usual activity and good sense in redressing these disorders, when he received a dangerous wound from the accidental explosion of a mass of gunpowder. Completely disabled by this misfortune, and destitute of surgical aid in the colony, he was compelled to resign his command, and take his departure for England.¹ [Oct. 1609.] He never returned to Virginia again. It was natural that he should abandon with regret the society which he had exerted so much admirable vigor to preserve, — the settlement which he had conducted through difficulties as formidable as those which obstructed the infant progress of Carthage or Rome, — and the scenes which he had dignified by so much wisdom and virtue. But our sympathy with his regret is abated by the reflection, that a longer residence in the colony would speedily have consigned him to very subordinate office,² and might have deprived the world of that stock of valuable knowledge, and his own character of that accession of fame,³ which the publication of his travels has secured and perpetuated.

¹ Smith. Stith.

² See Note II., at the end of this volume.

³ He became so famous in England before his death, that his adventures were dramatized and represented on the stage, to his own great annoyance. Stith.

CHAPTER II.

The Colony a Prey to Anarchy — and Famine. — Gates and Somers arrive from Bermudas. — Abandonment of the Colony determined upon — prevented by the Arrival of Lord Delaware. — His wise Administration — his Return to England. — Sir Thomas Dale's Administration. — Martial Law established. — Indian Chief's Daughter seized by Argal — married to Rolfe. — Right of private Property in Land introduced into the Colony. — Expedition of Argal against Port Royal and New York. — Tobacco cultivated by the Colonists. — First Assembly of Representatives convened in Virginia. — New Constitution of the Colony. — Introduction of Negro Slavery. — Migration of young Women from England to Virginia. — Dispute between the King and the Colony. — Conspiracy of the Indians. — Massacre of the Colonists. — Dissensions of the London Company. — The Company dissolved. — The King assumes the Government of the Colony — his Death. — Charles the First pursues his Father's arbitrary Policy. — Tyrannical Government of Sir John Harvey. — Sir William Berkeley appointed Governor. — The provincial Liberties restored. — Virginia espouses the royal Cause — subdued by the Long Parliament. — Restraints imposed on the Trade of the Colony. — Revolt of the Colony. — Sir William Berkeley resumes the Government. — Restoration of Charles the Second.

AT the period of Smith's departure, the infant commonwealth was composed of five hundred persons, and amply provided with all necessary stores of arms, provisions, cattle, and implements of agriculture ;¹ but the sense to improve its opportunities was wanting ; and fortune forsook it along with its preserver. For a short time, the government was administered by George Percy, a man of sense and probity, but devoid of the vigor that gives efficacy to virtue ; and the direction of affairs soon relapsed into the same mischievous channel from which Smith had recalled it. The colony was delivered up to the wantonness of a giddy and distracted rabble, and presented a scene of riot, folly, and profligacy, strongly invoking vindictive retribution, and speedily overtaken by it. The magazines of food were exhausted with reckless improvidence ; and the

¹ Stith.

Indians, incensed by repeated injuries, and aware that the man whom they so much respected had ceased to govern the colonists, not only refused them all assistance, but harassed them with continual hostilities. Famine ensued, and completed their wretchedness and degradation by transforming them into cannibals, and compelling them to support their lives by feeding on the bodies of the Indians whom they slew, and of their own companions who perished of hunger or disease. Six months after the departure of Smith, there remained no more than sixty persons alive at Jamestown, still prolonging their misery by a vile and precarious diet, but daily expecting its final and fatal close.¹

In this wretched predicament was the colony found by Gates, Somers, and Newport, who at length arrived from Bermudas [May, 1610], where the shipwreck they encountered had detained them and their crew for ten months.² The bounty of nature in that happy region maintained them in comfort while they constructed the vessels that were to transport them to Jamestown, and might have supplied them with ample stores for the use of the colony; but they neglected these resources, and arrived almost empty-handed, in the confident assurance of receiving from the magazines of a thriving settlement the relief that was now vainly implored from themselves by the famishing remnant of their countrymen. Their disappointment was equalled only by the difficulty of ascertaining, amidst the mutual and contradictory accusations of the surviving colonists, how or by whose fault a calamity so unexpected had actually come to pass. But there was no time for deliberate inquiry, or adjustment of complaints. It was determined to abandon the settlement; and with this view all the people embarked in the vessels that had arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. Their stores were insufficient for so long a voyage; but they hoped to obtain an additional supply at the English fishing station on the coast of Newfoundland. Such abhorrence of the scene of their misery was entertained by some of the colonists, that they importuned the commanders to burn the fort and houses at Jamestown. But Gates could not discern in their or his own distresses any reason for demolish-

¹ Stith.² Smith.

ing the buildings, that might afford shelter to future settlers ; and happily, by his interposition, the edifices were preserved from destruction, and the colonists prevented from wreaking additional vengeance on themselves.¹

For it was not the will of Providence that this little commonwealth should perish ; the calamities with which it had been visited were appointed to punish merely, but not entirely to destroy ; and the most vicious members being now cut off, and a memorable lesson afforded both to the patrons who collect² and the persons who compose such communities, a deliverance no less signal was vouchsafed by the Disposer of all events, just when hope was over, and the colony advanced to the very brink of annihilation. Before the fugitives had reached the mouth of James River, they were met by Lord Delaware, who arrived with three ships, containing a large supply of provisions, a considerable number of new settlers, and an ample stock of every implement and commodity requisite for defence or cultivation.³

Lord Delaware, who now presented himself as captain-general of the colony, was singularly well fitted for the exigency of the predicament in which he was thus unexpectedly placed. To an ancient lineage and a title of nobility, in an age when such distinctions were regarded with much veneration, he joined a dignified demeanour, a disinterested character, respectable sense, and a firm and resolute temper. The hope of rendering an important service to his country, and the generous pleasure of coöperating in a great design, had induced him to exchange ease and splendor at home for a situation of the general difficulties of which he was perfectly aware ; and the same firmness and elevation of purpose preserved him undaunted and unperplexed by the astounding scene of calamity

¹ Smith. Stith.

² The fate of this settlement probably suggested to Lord Bacon the following passage in his *Essay on Plantations*. "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked, condemned men, to be the people with whom we plant ; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation ; for they will ever live like rogues and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief and spend victuals." Britain boasts the honor of producing two such philosophers and teachers of colonial policy as Lord Bacon and Adam Smith, but cannot claim the higher honor of having appreciated and followed their counsels.

³ Smith. Stith.

which he encountered on his arrival in Virginia. Stemming the torrent of evil fortune, he carried back the fugitives to Jamestown, and commenced his administration by attendance on divine worship. After some consultation respecting the affairs of the settlement, he summoned all the colonists together, and addressed them in a short, but judicious and impressive harangue. [1611.] He rebuked the folly, sloth, and immorality that had produced such disasters, and recommended a return to the virtues most likely to repair them ; he declared his determination not to hold the sword of justice in vain, but to punish the first recurrence of disorder by shedding the blood of the delinquents, — though he would infinitely rather (he protested) shed his own to protect the colony from injury. He nominated proper officers for every department of the public service, and allotted to every man his particular station and business. This address was received with general applause and satisfaction ; and the factious humors of the people seemed readily and entirely to subside beneath the dignity and the prudent and resolute policy of Lord Delaware's administration. The deference which had been reluctantly extorted by the superior talent and genius of Smith was more willingly yielded to claims of superior birth and hereditary elevation, more palpable to the apprehension, and less offensive to the self-complacency, of the mass of mankind. By an assiduous attention to his duty, and a happy union of qualities fitted equally to inspire esteem and command submission, Lord Delaware succeeded in maintaining peace and good order within the settlement, in awakening a spirit of industry and alacrity among the colonists, and in again impressing the dread and reverence of the English name on the minds of the Indians. This promising beginning was all that he was permitted to accomplish. Oppressed by disease occasioned by the climate, he was compelled to quit the country ; having first committed the administration of his authority to George Percy.¹

The restoration of Percy [March, 1611] to the official dignity which he had once before enjoyed was attended with the same relaxation of discipline, and would probably have issued in a

¹ Stith. Lord Delaware's *Discourse*, *apud* Smith.

repetition of the same disorders that so fatally distinguished his former presidency. But, happily for the colony, a squadron that had been despatched from England, before Lord Delaware's return, with a supply of men and provisions, brought also with it Sir Thomas Dale, whose commission authorized him, in the absence of that nobleman, to assume the chief command. [May, 1611.] This new governor found the colonists fast relapsing into idleness and penury; and though he exerted himself strenuously, and not unsuccessfully, to restore better habits, yet the loss of Lord Delaware's imposing rank and authoritative character was sensibly felt. What Dale could not accomplish by milder means, he was soon enabled to produce by a system of notable rigor and severity. A code of rules had been compiled by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company of patentees, from the martial law of the Low Countries, the most severe and arbitrary frame of discipline then subsisting in the world; and having been printed by the compiler for the use of the colony, but without the sanction or authority of the council, was transmitted by him to the governor.¹ This code did not long remain inoperative. Dale caused it to be proclaimed as the established law of the colony; and some conspiracies having broken out, he administered its provisions with great rigor, but not greater than was judged by all who witnessed it to have been requisite for the general safety. The wisdom and honor of the governor, who thus became the first depository of those formidable powers, and the salutary consequences that resulted from the first exercise of them, prevented the alarm which the introduction of a system so arbitrary and despotic was calculated to provoke. Dale was succeeded in the supreme command by Sir Thomas Gates [August, 1611], who arrived with six vessels, containing a powerful reinforcement to the numbers and resources of the colonists. The late and the present governor were united by mutual friendship and similarity of character. Gates approved and pursued the system of strict discipline, and steady, but moderate, execution of the martial

¹ Stith. Nothing can be more fanciful or erroneous than Dr. Robertson's account of the introduction of this system, which, without the slightest authority, he ascribes to the advice of Lord Bacon, and, in opposition to all evidence, represents as the act of the company. See Note III., at the end of the volume.

code introduced by Dale ; and under the directions of Dale, who remained in the country and cheerfully occupied a subordinate station, various detached parties of the colonists began to form additional settlements on the banks of James River, and at some distance from Jamestown.¹

An application was now made by the company of patentees to the king, for an enlargement of their territory and jurisdiction. The accounts they received from the persons who were shipwrecked on Bermudas, of the fertility and convenience of this region, impressed them with the desire of obtaining possession of its resources for the benefit of Virginia.² Their request was granted without difficulty ; and a new charter was issued [March, 1612], investing them with all the islands situated within three hundred leagues of the Virginian coast. Some innovations were made, at the same time, in the structure and forms of the corporation ; the term of exemption from customs was prolonged ; the company was empowered to apprehend and remand persons deserting the settlement, in violation of their engagements ; and in order to promote the advancement of the colony and the reimbursement of the large sums that had been expended on it, license was granted to open lotteries in any part of England. The lottery which was established in virtue of this license was the first institution of the kind that ever received public countenance in England ; it brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company, but loaded this body with the reproach of defrauding the English people and corrupting their manners. The House of Commons remonstrated against the permission of the lottery, as a measure equally unconstitutional and impolitic ; and the license was shortly after recalled. Happy if their example had been sooner copied by after ages, and the rulers of mankind restrained from polluting their financial administration by a system of chicane, promoting in their subjects those gambling tastes and habits which dissolve industry and virtue and frequently beget even the most atrocious crimes ! Notwithstanding the

¹ Smith. Stith.

² Stith. About this time, the patentees promoted a subscription among devout persons in London for building churches in the colony ; but the money was diverted to other purposes ; and it was not till some years after, that churches were built in Virginia. — Oldmixon.

eagerness of the company to acquire the Bermuda Islands, they did not long retain this territory, but sold it to a junto of their own associates, who were united by royal charter into a separate corporation, named the Somer Islands Company.¹

The colony of Virginia had once been saved, in the person of its own deliverer, Captain Smith, by Pocahontas, the daughter of the Indian king, Powhatan. This princess maintained ever since a friendly intercourse with the English, and was destined now again to render them a service of the highest importance. A scarcity prevailing at Jamestown, and supplies being obtained but scantily and irregularly from the neighbouring Indians, with whom the colonists were often embroiled, Captain Argal was despatched to the shores of the river Potomac in quest of a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement at no great distance from him ; and hoping, by possession of her person, to obtain such an ascendant over Powhatan as would insure an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her, by some artifice, to come on board his vessel, and then set sail with her to Jamestown, where she was detained in captivity, though treated with ceremonious respect. But Powhatan, (who, like many Indian chiefs, though devoid of steady, generous wisdom, yet possessed a wild, uncultivated virtue,) more indignant at such treachery than subdued by his misfortune, rejected with scorn the demand of a ransom ; he even refused to hold any communication with the pirates who still kept his daughter a prisoner ;² declaring, nevertheless, that, if she were restored to him, he would forget the injury, and, feeling himself at liberty to regard the authors of it as friends, would gratify all their wishes. The colonists, however, were too conscious of not deserving the performance of such promises, to be able to give credit to them ; and the most injurious consequences seemed likely to arise from an unjust detention, which they could no longer continue with advantage, nor relinquish with safety, — when, behold ! all at once the aspect of affairs underwent a happy and surprising change. During her residence in the colony,

¹ Stith. Chalmer's *Annals*.

² He would not deem

“The soil of her fair rape
Wiped off in honorable keeping her.”
Shakspeare.

Pocahontas, whose pleasing manners and other personal attractions have been celebrated with warm commendation, gained the affections of a young man named Rolfe, a person of rank and estimation among the planters, who offered her his hand, and, with her approbation and the cordial encouragement of the governor, solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage. This the old prince readily bestowed, and despatched certain of his relatives to attend the ceremonial, which was performed with extraordinary pomp [April, 1613], and laid the foundation of a firm and sincere friendship between his tribe and the English. This fortunate event also enabled the provincial government to conclude a treaty with the Chickahominies, a horde distinguished by their bravery and their military experience, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the British monarch, and to style themselves henceforward Englishmen, — to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.

But a material change, which now took place in the social structure of the colony, contributed to fix its prosperity on foundations more solid and respectable than the alliance or dependence of the Indian tribes. The industry, which had been barely kept alive by the severe discipline of martial law, languished under the discouraging influence of that community of property and acquisition which was introduced, as we have seen, by the provisions of the original charter. As a temporary expedient, this system could not have been easily avoided ; and the censure which historians have so readily bestowed on its introduction seems to be far from reasonable. The real impolicy consisted in prolonging its duration beyond the time when the colony acquired stability, when modes and habits of life were fixed, and when, the resources of the territory and the productive powers of labor being fully understood, the government might safely and beneficially have remitted every individual to the stimulus of his own interest and dependence on his own exertions. But in the outset, it was necessary, or at least highly expedient, that the government should charge itself with the support of its subjects and the regulation of their industry ; and that their first experimental exertions should be referred and adapted to the principle and governance of a sys-

tem of partnership. How long such a system may endure, when originated and maintained by a strong and general impulse of that Christian spirit which directs every man to regard his office on earth as a trust, his life as a stewardship, and the superiority of his faculties and advantages as designating, not the enlargement of his privileges, but the extent of his responsibility, is a problem to be solved by the future history of mankind. But as a permanent arrangement, supported only by municipal law, it attempts an impossibility, and commits its practical administration to an influence destructive of its own principles. As soon as the sense of individual interest and security begins to dissolve the bond of common hazard, danger, and difficulty, the law is felt to be an irksome and injurious restriction ; but as in theory it retains a generous aspect, and the first symptoms of its practical inconvenience are the idleness and immorality promoted by its secret suggestions, it is not surprising that rulers should seek to remove the effect, while they preserve the cause, and even by additional severities of regulation extinguish every remains of the virtue which they vainly attempt to rekindle.

Sir Thomas Dale, by his descent from the supreme direction of affairs to a more active participation in the conduct of them, was enabled to discern with accurate and unprejudiced observation the influence of the provincial laws on the dispositions of the colonists ; and soon discovered the violent repugnance between a system which enforced community of property, and all the ordinary motives by which human industry is sustained. He saw that every one was eager to evade or abridge his own share of labor ; that the universal reliance on the common stock impaired, universally, the diligence and activity on which the accumulation of that stock depended ; that the slothful trusted to the exertions of the industrious, while the industrious were deprived of alacrity by impatience of supporting and confirming the slothful in their idleness ; and that the most conscientious citizen would hardly perform as much labor for the community in a week as he would for himself in a day. Under Dale's direction, the evil was redressed by a radical and effectual remedy : a sufficient portion of land was divided into lots, and one of them was appropriated to every

settler. From that moment, industry, freed from the obstruction that had relaxed its incitements and intercepted its recompense, took vigorous root in Virginia, and the prosperity of the colony experienced a steady and rapid advancement.¹ Gates returning to England [1614], the supreme direction again devolved on Sir Thomas Dale, whose virtue seems never to have enlarged with the extension of his authority. He retained for two years longer the governance of the colony, and in his domestic administration continued to promote its real welfare ; but he launched into foreign operations little productive of advantage, and still less of honor. In Captain Argal, the author of the flagitious but fortunate abduction of Pocahontas, he found a fit instrument, and perhaps a counsellor, of designs of a similar character.

The French settlers in Acadia had, in the year 1605, built Port Royal, in the Bay of Fundy, and ever since retained quiet possession of the adjacent country, and successfully cultivated a friendly intercourse with the neighbouring Indians. Under the pretext, that the French, by settling in Acadia, invaded the rights which the English derived from prior discovery of the continent, was Argal despatched, in a season of profound peace, to make a hostile attack on Port Royal. Nothing could be more unjust or unwarranted than this enterprise. The Virginian charters, with the protection of which alone Sir Thomas Dale was intrusted, did not embrace the territory which he now presumed to invade, and which the French had peaceably possessed for nearly ten years in virtue of charters from their sovereign, Henry the Fourth. Argal easily succeeded in surprising and plundering a community totally unsuspecting of hostility and unprepared for defence ; but as he established no garrison in the place, the French soon resumed their station ;² and the expedition produced no other permanent effect than the indignant recollections it left in the minds of the French, and the unfavourable impression it produced on the Indians. Returning from this expedition,

¹ Smith. Stith.

² Stith. Escarbot's *History of New France*. Purchas. Argal's piratical attack on Port Royal was revenged by the French on Captain Smith in the following year. See Book II. Chap. I. *post*.

Argal undertook and achieved a similar enterprise against New York, which was then in possession of the Dutch, whose claim was derived from Captain Hudson's visit to the territory in 1609, when he commanded one of their vessels, and was employed in their service. Argal, however, maintained, that, as Hudson was an Englishman by birth, the benefit of his discovery accrued by indefeasible right to his native country ; and the Dutch governor, being unprepared for resistance, was compelled to submit, and declare the colony a dependency of England, and tributary to Virginia. But another governor arriving shortly after, with better means of asserting the title of his countrymen, the concession was retracted, and the English claim successfully defied.¹

One of the first objects which engaged the increasing industry of the colonists was the cultivation of tobacco, a commodity now for the first time introduced into the commerce of Virginia. [1615.] King James had conceived a strong antipathy to the use of this herb, and in his celebrated treatise, entitled *Counterblast against Tobacco*, endeavoured to prevail over one of the strongest appetites of human nature by the force of pedantic fustian, and reasoning as ridiculous as the title of his performance. The issue of the contest corresponded better with his interests than with his wishes ; his testimony, though pressed with all the vehemence of exalted folly, could not prevail with his subjects over the solicitation and evidence of their own senses ; and though he summoned his prerogative to the aid of his logic, and guarded the soil of England from pollution by forbidding the domestic culture of tobacco, he found it impossible to withstand its importation from abroad ; the demand for it continually extended, and its value and consumption daily increased in England. Incited by the hopes of sharing a trade so profitable, the colonists of Virginia devoted their fields and labor almost exclusively to the production of this commodity. Sir Thomas Dale, observing their inconsiderate ardor, and sensible of the danger of neglecting the cultivation of the humbler but more necessary productions on which the subsistence of the colony depended, interposed his authority to

¹ Stith. See the *History of New York*, in Book V. *post*.

check the excesses of the planters ; and adjusted by law the proportion between the corn crop and the tobacco crop of every proprietor of land. But after his departure [1616], his wise policy was forgotten, and his regulations disregarded ; and the culture of tobacco so exclusively occupied the attention of the settlers, that even the streets of Jamestown were planted with it, and a scarcity of provisions very soon resulted. The colonists, unable to devise any better remedy for this evil than the renewal of exactions from the Indians, involved themselves in disputes and hostilities which gradually alienated the regards of these savages, and paved the way to one of those schemes of vengeance which they are noted for forming with impenetrable secrecy, maturing with consummate artifice and executing with unrelenting ferocity.¹ This fatal effect was not experienced till after the lapse of one of those intervals which to careless eyes seem to disconnect the misconduct from the sufferings of nations, but impress reflective minds with an awful conception of that strong, unbroken chain, which, subsisting unimpaired by time or distance, preserves and extends the moral consequences of human actions.

But a nobler produce than any that her physical soil could supply was to grace the dawn of civilization in Virginia ; and we are now to contemplate the first indication of that active principle of liberty which was destined to obtain the most signal development from the progress of American society. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, he committed the government of the province to George Yeardley, whose lax administration, if it removed a useful restraint on the improvident cupidity of the planters, enabled them to taste, and prepared them to value, the dignity of independence and the advantages of freedom. He was succeeded [1617²] by Captain Argal, a man of considerable talent and activity, but sordid, haughty, and tyrannical. Argal provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and introduced some politic regulations of the traffic and

¹ Smith. Stith. Purchas. In the year 1615, was published at London *A true Discourse of the present State of Virginia*, by Ralph Hamar, Secretary to the Colony ; a tract which has no other merit but its rarity.

² In the present year died Pocahontas. She had accompanied her husband on a visit to England, where her history excited much interest, and the grace and dignity of her manners no less respect and admiration. Captain Smith introduced her to the queen, and her society was courted by the most eminent

intercourse with the Indians ; but he cramped the liberty of the people by minute and vexatious restrictions, and enforced a practical conformity to them by harsh and constant exercise of martial law. While he affected to promote piety in others by punishing absence from ecclesiastical ordinances with a temporary servitude, he postponed, in his own personal practice, every other consideration to the acquisition of wealth, which he greedily pursued by a profligate abuse of the opportunities of his office, and defended by the terrors of despotic authority. Universal discontent was excited by his administration ; and the complaints of the colonists at length reached the ears of the company in England. Lord Delaware, who had always been the zealous friend and advocate of the colonists, now consented, for their deliverance, to resume his former office, and again to undertake the direction of their affairs. He embarked for Virginia [1618] with a splendid train, but died on the voyage. His loss was deeply lamented by the colonists. Yet it was, perhaps, an advantageous circumstance for them, that an administration invested with so much pomp and dignity was thus seasonably intercepted, and the improvement of their affairs committed to men whose rank and manners were nearer the level of their own condition ; and it was no less advantageous to the memory of Lord Delaware, that he died in the demonstration of a generous willingness to attempt what he would most probably have been unable to accomplish. The tidings of his death were followed to England by increasing complaints of the odious and tyrannical proceedings of Argal ; and the company having conferred the office of Captain-General on Yeardley [April, 1619], this new governor received the honor of knighthood, and repaired to the scene of his administration.¹

of the nobility. But the mean soul of the king regarded her with jealousy ; and he expressed alternate murmurs at Rolfe's presumption in marrying a princess, and alarm at the title that this planter's posterity might acquire to the sovereignty of Virginia. Pocahontas died in the faith, and with the sentiments and demeanour, of a Christian. — Smith. Stith. She left a son by Rolfe, whose posterity, says a modern historian of Virginia, "are not unworthy of their royal ancestry." — Campbell. An American writer, in 1787, remarks, that the descendants of Rolfe and Pocahontas had then lost all the exterior characteristics of their Indian origin. Dr. Smith's *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*.

¹ Smith. Stith.

Sir George Yeardley, on his arrival in Virginia, perceived at a single glance that it was impossible to compose the prevalent jealousy of arbitrary power and impatience for liberty, or to conduct his own administration in a satisfactory manner, without reinstating the colonists in full possession of the rights of Englishmen ; and accordingly, to their inexpressible joy, he promptly signified his intention of convoking a provincial assembly, framed with all possible analogy to the parliament of the parent state. This first representative legislature that America ever beheld consisted of the governor, the council, and a number of burgesses, elected by the seven existing boroughs, who, assembling at Jamestown, in one chamber, discussed all matters that concerned the general welfare, and conducted their deliberations with good sense, moderation, and harmony. The laws which they enacted were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and are no longer extant ; but it is asserted by competent judges, that they were, in the main, wisely and judiciously framed, though (as might reasonably be expected) somewhat intricate and unsystematical.¹ The company soon after passed an ordinance by which they substantially approved and ratified the platform of the Virginian legislature. They reserved, however, to themselves the nomination of a council of state, which should assist the governor with advice in the executive administration, and should also form a part of the legislative assembly ; and they provided, on the one hand, that the decrees of the assembly should not have the force of law till sanctioned by the court of proprietors in England ; and conceded, on the other hand, that the orders of this court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the provincial assembly.² Thus early was planted in America that representative system which forms the soundest political frame wherein the spirit of liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ by which its energies are exercised and developed. So

¹ Rolfe, *apud* Smith. Stith. The assembly, when they transmitted their own ordinances to England, requested the general court to prepare a digest for Virginia of the laws of England, and to procure for it the sanction of the king's approbation, adding, "that it was not fit that his subjects should be governed by any other rules than such as received their influence from him." — Chalmers.

² Stith. Hazard.

strongly imbued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with those generous principles which were rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their native country, that, wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them.

It had been happy for the morals and the welfare of Virginia, if her inhabitants, like their countrymen in Massachusetts, had oftener elevated their eye from subordinate agency to the great First Cause, and had referred, in particular, the signal blessing that was now bestowed on them to the will and bounty of God. Liberty, so derived, acquires at once its firmest and noblest basis ; it becomes respected as well as beloved ; the dignity of the origin to which it is referred influences the ends to which it is rendered instrumental ; and all men are taught to feel that it can neither be violated nor abused without provoking the divine displeasure. It is this preservative principle alone, which, recognizing in the abundance of divine goodness the extent of the divine claims, prevents the choicest blessings and most admirable talents from cherishing in human hearts an ungrateful and counteracting spirit of insolence and pride, — a spirit which led the Virginians too soon to plant the rankest weeds of tyrannic injustice in that field where the seeds of liberty had been so happily sown.

The company of patentees had received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle, dissolute persons who were in prison for various misdemeanours in London.¹ These men were dispersed through the province as servants to the planters ; and the degradation of the provincial character and manners, produced by such social intermixture, was overlooked, in consideration of the advantage that was expected from so many additional and unpaid laborers. Having once associated felons with their pursuits, and committed the cultivation of their fields to servile and depraved hands, the colonists were prepared to yield to the temptation which speed-

¹ Stith. Captain Smith relates, that, since his departure from the colony, the number of felons and vagabonds transported to Virginia brought such evil report on the place, "that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, *and were.*" "This custom," says Stith, "hath laid one of the finest countries in America under the unjust scandal of being another Siberia, fit only for the reception of malefactors and the vilest of the people."

ily presented itself, and to blend, in barbarous combination, the character of oppressors with the claims and condition of freemen. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, arriving in James River, sold to the planters a part of her cargo of negroes ;¹ and as this hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue in a sultry climate than Europeans, the number was increased by continual importation, till a large proportion of the inhabitants of Virginia was composed of men degraded to a state of slavery by the selfishness and ungrateful barbarity of others, who, embracing the gifts without imbibing the beneficence of their Creator, turned into a scene of bondage for their fellows the territory that had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves.

Another addition, at this epoch [1620], more productive of virtue and felicity, was made to the number of the colonists. Few women had as yet ventured to cross the Atlantic ; and the English, restrained by the pride and rigidity of their character from that incorporation with the native Americans, which the French and Portuguese have found so conducive to their interests and so accordant with the pliancy of their manners, were generally destitute of the comforts and connections of married life. Men so situated could not regard Virginia as a permanent residence, and must have generally entertained the purpose of returning to their native country after amassing as expeditiously as possible a competency of wealth. Such views are inconsistent with patient industry, and with those extended interests that produce or support patriotism ; and in conformity with the more liberal policy which the company now began to pursue towards the colony, it was proposed to send out a hundred young women of agreeable persons and respectable characters, as wives for the settlers. Ninety were sent ; and the speculation proved so profitable to the company, that a repetition of it was suggested by the emptiness of their exchequer in the following year [1621], when sixty more were collected and transported. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters, and produced such an accession of happiness to the colony, that the second consignment fetched a

¹ Beverley, *History of Virginia*.

larger profit than the first. The price of a wife was estimated first at a hundred and twenty, and afterwards at a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, which was then sold at three shillings per pound. The young women were not only bought with avidity, but received with such fondness, and so comfortably established, that others were invited to follow their example ; and virtuous sentiments and provident habits spreading consequently among the planters enlarged the happiness and prosperity of the colony.¹ To the blessings of marriage naturally succeeded some provision for the benefits of education. A sum of money was collected by the English bishops, by direction of the king, for the maintenance of an institution in Virginia for the Christian education of Indian children ; and in emulation of this good example, various steps were taken by the chartered company towards the foundation of a provincial college, which was afterwards completed in the reign of William and Mary.

It is remarkable that the rise of civil liberty in North America was nearly coeval with the first dispute between her inhabitants and the government of the mother country. With the increasing industry of the colony, the produce of its tobacco-fields became more than sufficient for the supply of England, where, also, its disposal was vexatiously restricted by the wavering and arbitrary policy of the king, in granting monopolies for the sale of it, in limiting the quantities permitted to be imported, in appointing commissioners "for garbling the drug called tobacco," with arbitrary powers to confiscate whatever portions of it they might consider of base quality, in loading the importation with a heavy duty, and at the same time encouraging the import of tobacco from Spain. The company, harassed by these absurd and iniquitous restraints, opened a trade with Holland, and established warehouses in that country, to which they sent their tobacco directly from

¹ Stith. This interesting branch of traffic appears to have subsisted for many years, during which its seeming indelicacy was qualified as far as possible by the nice attention that was paid to the ascertainment of the moral character of every woman aspiring to become a Virginian matron. In the year 1632, by an order of the provincial council, two young women, who had been seduced during their passage from England, were ordered to be sent back, as "unworthy to propagate the race of Virginians." — Burk's *History of Virginia*.

Virginia ; but the king interposed to prohibit such evasion of his revenue, and directed that all the Virginian tobacco should be brought in the first instance to England. A lengthened and acrimonious dispute arose between this feeble prince and the colonists and colonial corporation. Against the monopoly established in England they petitioned the House of Commons ; and in support of their practice of trading directly with Holland, they contended for the general right of Englishmen to carry their commodities to the best market they could find, and pleaded the special concessions of their own charter, which expressly conferred on them unlimited liberty of commerce. At length, the dispute was adjusted by a compromise, by which the company obtained, on the one hand, the exclusive right of importing tobacco into the kingdom, and engaged, on the other, to pay an import duty of ninepence per pound, and to send all the tobacco produce of Virginia to England.¹

But a cloud had been for some time gathering over the colony ; and even the circumstances that were supposed most forcibly to betoken the prosperity of its inhabitants were provoking the storm to burst with more destructive violence on their heads. [1622.] At peace with the Indians, unapprehensive of danger, and wholly engrossed with the profitable cultivation of a fertile territory, their increasing numbers had spread so extensively over the province, that no fewer than eighty settlements were already formed ; and every planter being guided only by his own peculiar taste or convenience in the choice of his dwelling, and more disposed to shun than to court the neighbourhood of his countrymen, the settlements were universally straggling and uncompact.² In the Scriptures, which the colonists received as their rule of faith, they might have found ample testimony to the cruelty and treachery of mankind in their natural state ; and from their own experience they might have derived the strongest assurance that the savages, by whom they were surrounded, could claim no exemption from this testimony of divine wisdom and truth. Yet the pious labors by which the evil dispositions of the Indians might have been corrected, and the military exercises and pre-

¹ Stith.² Smith.

cautions by which their hostility might have been overawed or repelled, were equally neglected by the English settlers ; who, moreover, contributed to foster the martial habits of the Indians by employing them as hunters, and enlarged their resources of destruction by furnishing them with firearms, which they very soon learned to use with dexterity.

The marriage of the planter Rolfe to the Indian princess did not produce as lasting a friendship between the English and the Indians as at first it seemed to portend. The Indians eagerly courted a repetition of such intermarriages, and were painfully stung by the disdain with which the English receded from their advances and declined to become the husbands of Indian women.¹ The colonists forgot that they had inflicted this mortification ; but it was remembered by the Indians, who sacredly embalmed the memory of every affront in lasting, stern, silent, and implacable resentment. Earnest recommendations were repeatedly transmitted from England to attempt the conversion of the savages ; but these recommendations were not promoted by a sufficient attention to the means requisite for their accomplishment. Yet neither were they entirely neglected by the colonists. Some attempts at conversion were made by a few pious individuals, and the success of one of them undoubtedly mitigated the calamity that was impending ; but these efforts were feeble and partial, and the majority of the colonists had contented themselves with cultivating a friendly acquaintance with the Indians, who were admitted at all times into their habitations, and encouraged to consider themselves as welcome and familiar guests.²

It was in the midst of this free and unguarded intercourse, that the Indians formed, with deliberate and unrelenting ferocity, the project of a general massacre of the English, which devoted every man, woman, and child in the colony to indiscriminate destruction. On the death of Powhatan, in 1618,

¹ Beverley.

² Stith. To the remonstrances of certain of the colonists against their worship of demons, some of the Indians of Virginia answered that they believed in two great spirits, a good and an evil one ; that the first was a being sunk in the enjoyment of everlasting indolence and ease, who showered down blessings indiscriminately from the skies, leaving men to scramble for them as they chose, and totally indifferent to their concerns ; but that the second was an active, jealous spirit, whom they were obliged to propitiate, that he might not destroy them. — Oldmixon.

the power of executing a scheme so daring and sanguinary devolved on a man fully capable of contriving and conducting it. Opechancanough,¹ who succeeded to the supremacy over Powhatan's tribe, and possessed extensive influence over all the neighbouring tribes of Indians, was distinguished by his ferocious bravery, his profound dissimulation, and a rancorous hatred and jealousy of the European colonists of America. He renewed the pacific treaty which Powhatan had concluded with the English after the marriage of his daughter to Rolfe ; and he availed himself of the security into which it lulled the objects of his guile, to prepare, during the four ensuing years, his friends and followers for the several parts they were to act in the tragedy which he contemplated. The tribes in the neighbourhood of the English, except those on the eastern shore, whom, on account of their peculiar friendship for the colonists, he did not venture to intrust with the design, were successively gained over ; and all coöperated with that singlemindedness and intensity of purpose characteristic of Indian conspiracy and revenge.

In a tribe of savage idolaters, the passions of men are left unpurified by the influence of religion, and unrestrained by a sound or elevated morality ; and human character is not subjected to that variety of impulse and impression which it undergoes in civilized society. The sentiments inculcated and the dispositions contracted in the family and in the tribe, in domestic education and in public life, in all the scenes through which the savage passes from his cradle to his grave, are the same ; there is no contest of opposite principles or conflicting habits to dissipate his mind or weaken its determinations ; and the system of morals (if it may be so called) which he embraces, being the offspring of wisdom and dispositions congenial to his own, a seeming dignity of character arises from the simple vigor and consistency of that conduct which his moral sentiments never disturb or reproach. The understand-

¹ Stith. — Opechancanough, in imitation of the English, had built himself a house, and was so delighted with the contrivance of a lock and key, that he used to spend whole hours in repetition of the experiment of locking and unlocking his door. — Oldmixon. No European invention struck the Indians with greater surprise than a windmill ; they came from vast distances and continued for many days to gaze at a phenomenon which they ascribed to the agency of demons shut up within the edifice.

ing, neither refined by variety of knowledge, nor elevated by the grandeur of its contemplations, instead of moderating the passions, becomes the abettor of their violence and the instrument of their gratification. Men in malice, but children in sense it is in the direction of fraud and cunning that the intellectual faculties of savages are chiefly exercised ; and so perfect is the harmony between their passions and their reflective powers, that the same delay which would mitigate the ferocity of more cultivated men serves but to harden their cruelty and mature the devices for its indulgence. Notwithstanding the long interval that elapsed between the formation and the execution of their present enterprise, and the continual intercourse that subsisted between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was preserved by the Indians ; and so fearless, consummate, and inscrutable was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and communicate the progress of their design.¹

An incident, which, though minute, is too curious to be omitted, contributed to stimulate the malignity of the Indians by the sense of recent provocation. There was a man, belonging to one of the neighbouring tribes, called Nemattanow, who, by his courage, craft, and good fortune, had attained the highest repute among his countrymen. In the skirmishes and engagements which their former wars with the English produced, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded the esteem of his fellow-savages, and an impunity that excited their astonishment. They judged him invulnerable, whom so many dangers had vainly menaced ; and the object of their admiration partook, or at least encouraged, the delusion which seemed to invest him with a character of sanctity. Opechan-canough, the king, whether jealous of this man's reputation, or desirous of embroiling the English with the Indians, sent a message to the governor of the colony, to acquaint him that he was welcome to cut Nemattanow's throat. Such an indication of Indian character as this message afforded ought to have produced alarm and distrust in the minds of the English.

¹ Stith.

Though the offer of the king was disregarded, his wishes were not disappointed. Nemattanow, having murdered a planter, was shot by one of the servants of his victim, who attempted to arrest him. In the pangs of death, the pride, but not the vanity, of the savage was subdued, and he entreated his captors that they would never reveal that he had been slain by a bullet, and that they would bury him among the English, in order that the secret of his mortality might remain unknown to his countrymen. The request seems to infer the possibility of complying with it; and the colonists, by whom it was neglected, had cause to regret their imprudent disclosure of the fatal event. The Indians were filled with grief and indignation; and Opechancanough inflamed their anger by pretending to share it. Having counterfeited displeasure for the satisfaction of his subjects, he affected placability for the delusion of his enemies, and assured the English that the sky should sooner fall than the peace be broken by him. But the plot meanwhile advanced to maturity, and, at last, the day was fixed on which all the English settlements were at the same instant to be attacked. The respective stations of the various troops of assassins were assigned to them; and that they might be enabled to occupy their posts without awakening suspicion, some carried presents of fish and game into the interior of the colony, and others presented themselves as guests soliciting the hospitality of their English friends, on the evening before the massacre. As the fatal hour drew nigh, the rest, under various pretences, and with every demonstration of kind and peaceful intent, assembled around the detached and unfortified settlements of the colonists; and not a sentiment of compunction, not a rash expression of hate, nor an unguarded look of exultation, had occurred to disconcert or disclose the purpose of their well disciplined ferocity.

The universal destruction of the colonists seemed unavoidable, and was prevented only by the consequences of an event, which, perhaps, at the time when it came to pass, appeared but of little importance in the colony, — the conversion of an Indian to the Christian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, who communicated to him the command of his king and his country-

men to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with spoil, revenge, and glory. A summons of such tenor was well calculated to prevail with a savage mind ; but a new mind had been given to this convert, and, as soon as his brother left him, he revealed the secret to an English gentleman in whose house he was residing. This planter immediately carried the tidings to Jamestown, from whence the alarm was communicated to the inhabitants of the nearest settlements barely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives.

But the intelligence came too late to be more generally available. At mid-day [March 22, 1622], the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a hideous yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been still greater, if the English, even in some of those districts where no prior intimation of the danger was received, had not flown to their arms with the energy of despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse the assailants, who almost universally displayed a cowardice proportioned to their malignity, and fled at the sight of weapons in the hands even of the women and boys, whom, unarmed, they were willing to attack and destroy.¹

The colony received a wound no less deep and dangerous than painful and alarming. Six of the members of council, and several of the wealthiest and most respectable inhabitants, were among the slain ; at some of the settlements, the whole of their population had been exterminated ; at others, a remnant escaped the general destruction by the efforts of despair ; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of foes, whose enmity was equally furious and unaccountable, and whose treachery and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race.

¹ Smith. Stith.

of fiends rather than men.¹ To the massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war between the English and the Indians ; and the colonists were at last provoked to retaliate, in some degree, the fraudulent guile and indiscriminate butchery to which they found themselves exposed from their savage adversaries. But though a dire necessity was thought to justify or palliate such proceedings, yet the warfare of the colonists was never wholly divested of honor and magnanimity. During this disastrous period, the design that had been entertained of erecting a provincial college, and various other public institutions, was abandoned ; the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six ; and an afflicting dearth of food was added to the horrors of war.²

When the tidings of this calamity arrived in England, they excited, along with much disapprobation of the defective policy and inefficient precautions of the company of patentees, a lively sympathy with the danger and distress of the colonists. By order of the king, a supply of arms from the Tower was delivered to the treasurer of the company ; and vessels were despatched to Virginia with cargoes of such articles as were supposed to be most urgently needed by the planters. Captain Smith submitted to the company the project of an enterprise, which he offered to conduct, for the deliverance of the colony by the expulsion or subjugation of all the Indian tribes within the limits of its territory ; but, though generally approved, this proposition was not embraced. By dint of the exertions which they made in their own behalf, and with the assistance of the supplies that were actually sent to them from England, the colonists were barely saved from perishing with hunger ; and

¹ It was long before the British colonists were properly on their guard against the ferocity of a race of men capable of such consummate treachery, and who "in anger were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful." — Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

² Stith. As far as I am able to discover, the retaliatory deceit practised by the colonists in their hostilities with the Indians has been greatly overrated. Stith seems to have mistaken expressions of indignation for deliberate designs ; and Dr. Robertson has extended the error by mistaking purposes for the execution they never attained. The contemplation, and especially the endurance, of cruelty tends to make men cruel ; yet, to the honor of the colonists, be it remembered, that, even during the prevalence of these hostilities, a deliberate attempt to cozen and subjugate a body of Indians was punished by the provincial magistrates, as an offence against the law of God and against national faith and honor. — Stith.

it was not till after a severe and protracted struggle that they were enabled again to resume their prosperous attitude and extend their settlements.

More ample supplies and more active assistance would have been afforded to the colonists from England, but for the dissensions among the associated patentees, which had been spreading for a considerable period, and at this juncture attained a height that portended the dissolution of the corporation. The company was now a numerous body ; and being composed of able and enterprising men, drawn from every class in society, it presented a faithful abstract of the state of political feeling in the nation ; while its frequent courts or convocations afforded a convenient arena in which the parties tried their strength, and a conspicuous organ by which the prevailing sentiments were publicly expressed. At every meeting, the transaction of business was impeded by the intrigues of rival factions, and the debates were inflamed and protracted by their mutual altercations. At every election, the offices of the company were courted and contested by the most eminent persons in the state. [1623.] The controversy between the court party and the country party, that was spreading through the nation, was the more readily insinuated into those assemblies from the infrequency and irregularity of its more legitimate theatre, the parliament ; and various circumstances in the history of the company tended to nourish and extend this source of disagreement. Many of the proprietors, dissatisfied with the slender pecuniary returns that the colony afforded, were disposed to blame the existing officers and administration for the disappointment of their hopes ; not a few resented the procurement of the third charter, the exclusion of Captain Smith from the direction which he had shown himself so well qualified to exercise, and the insignificance to which they were themselves condemned by the arbitrary multiplication of their associates ; and a small but active and intriguing party, who had labored with earnest though unsuccessful rapacity to engross the offices of the company, to usurp the direction of its affairs, and to convert the colonial trade into their own private patrimony by monopolies which they bought from needy courtiers, naturally ranged themselves on the side of the court, and by

their complaints and misrepresentations to the king and privy council, sought to interest them in the quarrels, and infect them with suspicions of the corporation.¹

At the head of this least numerous, but most dangerous, faction was the notorious Captain Argal, who continued to display a rancorous enmity to the liberty of Virginia, and hoped to compass by intrigue and servility at home the same objects which he had pursued by tyranny and violence abroad. Sir Thomas Smith, too, the treasurer, whose predilection for arbitrary government we have already had occasion to remark, encouraged every complaint and proposition that tended to abridge the privileges of the colonial company, and give to its administration a less popular form. The arbitrary changes which the charter had already undergone taught all the malcontents to look up to the crown for such farther alterations as might remove the existing obstructions to their wishes ; and the complete ascendancy which the country party acquired in the company strongly disposed the king to suppress or modify an institution that served to cherish public spirit and disseminate liberal opinions. “ These Virginia courts,” said Gonde-mar, the Spanish envoy, to him, “ are but a seminary to a seditious parliament.”² The hardihood which the company had displayed in their late dispute with him concerning the restrictions of their tobacco trade, the freedom with which his policy was canvassed in their deliberations, the firmness with which his measures were resisted, and the contempt they had shown for the supremacy alike of his wisdom and his prerogative in complaining to the House of Commons, eradicated from the mind of James all that partiality to an institution of his own creation, that might have sheltered it from the habitual dislike and suspicion with which he regarded the authority of a popular assembly. But the same qualities that rendered them odious caused them also to appear somewhat formidable, and enforced some attention to equitable appearances, and

¹ Stith.

² So powerful were the leaders of the Virginia company, that they could influence the election of members of parliament. Under their auspices, the pious and accomplished Nicholas Ferrar obtained about this time a seat in the House of Commons, where he distinguished himself by an active opposition to the court. — Bishop Turner's *Life of Ferrar*.

deference to public opinion, in wreaking his displeasure upon them. The murmurs and discontents, that were excited in England by the intelligence of the Indian massacre, furnished him with an opportunity which he did not fail to improve.

Having signalized his own concern for the misfortunes of the colony by sending thither a quantity of military stores for defence against the Indians, and by issuing his mandate to the company to despatch an ample supply of provisions, he proceeded to institute an inquiry into the cause of the disaster. A commission was addressed to certain of the English judges and other persons of distinction [May, 1623], requiring them to examine the transactions of the corporation since its first establishment ; to report to the privy council the causes of the late disasters ; and to suggest the expedients most likely to prevent their recurrence.¹ In order to obstruct the efforts of the company for their own vindication, and to discover, if possible, additional matter of accusation against them, measures the most arbitrary and tyrannical were employed. All their charters, books, and papers were seized ; two of their principal officers were arrested ; and all letters from the colony intercepted and carried to the privy council. Among the witnesses whom the commissioners examined was Captain Smith, who might reasonably be supposed to entertain little favor for the existing constitution of the corporate body by which his career of honor and usefulness had been abridged, and who had recently sustained the mortification of seeing his offer to undertake the defence of the colony and subjugation of the Indians treated with thankless disregard, notwithstanding the approbation of a numerous party of the proprietors. Smith ascribed the misfortunes of the colony, and the slenderness of the income derived from it, to the neglect of military precautions ; the rapid succession of governors, which stimulated the rapacity of their dependents ; the multiplicity of public offices, by which industry was loaded and revenue absorbed ; and, in general, to the inability of a numerous body of men to conduct an undertaking so complex and arduous. He recommended the annexation of the colony and of all the juris-

¹ Stith.

diction over it to the crown, the introduction of greater simplicity and economy into the frame of its government, and an abandonment of the practice of transporting criminals to its shores.¹

The commissioners did not communicate any of their transactions to the company, who first learned the tenor of the report in which they were so deeply interested from an order of the king and privy council [Oct. 1623], signifying to them that the misfortunes of Virginia had arisen from their misgovernment, and that, for the purpose of repairing them, his Majesty had determined to revoke the old charter and issue a new one, which should commit the powers of government to fewer hands. In order to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared, that private property would be respected, and that all past grants of land should remain inviolate. An instant surrender of their privileges was required from the company ; and, in default of their voluntary submission, they were assured that the king was prepared to carry his purpose into effect by process of law.²

This arbitrary mandate produced so much astonishment and consternation in the assembled court of proprietors, that a long and deep silence ensued on its communication. But, resuming their spirit, they prepared to defend their rights with a resolution, which, if it could not avert their fate, at least redeemed their character. They indignantly refused to sanction the stigma affixed to their conduct by the order of council, — to surrender the franchises which they had legally obtained, and on the faith of which they had expended large sums of money, — or to consent to the abolition of a popular frame of government, and deliver up their countrymen in Virginia to the dominion of a narrow junto wholly dependent on the pleasure of the king. In these sentiments they persisted, in spite of all the threats and promises by which their firmness was assailed ;

¹ Smith.

² Stith. It was in the midst of those distractions, says Stith, that the Muses for the first time opened their lips in North America. One of the earliest literary productions of the English colonists was a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, made in 1623 by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia Company. It was afterwards published in England, and dedicated to Charles the First. Stith terms it "a laudable performance for the times" ; and Dryden mentions the author with respect, in the preface to his own translations from Ovid.

and by a vote, which only the dissent of Captain Argal and seven of his adherents rendered not quite unanimous, they finally rejected the king's proposal, and declared their resolution to defend themselves against any process he might institute.

Incensed at their audacity in disputing his will, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, in order to try the validity of their charter in the Court of King's Bench. With the hope of collecting additional proofs of their maladministration, he despatched envoys to Virginia to inspect the condition of the colony, and attempt to form a party there opposed to the pretensions of the court of proprietors. The royal envoys, finding the provincial assembly embodied [Feb. 1624], endeavoured, with great artifice and magnificent promises of military aid, and of other marks of royal favor, to detach the members from their adherence to the company, and to procure an address to the king, expressive of "their willingness to submit to his princely pleasure in revoking the ancient patents." But their exertions were unsuccessful. The assembly transmitted a petition to the king, professing satisfaction to find themselves the objects of his especial care, beseeching him to continue the existing form of government, and soliciting, that, if the promised military force should be granted to them, it might be placed under the control of their own governor and house of representatives. The domestic legislation of this assembly was marked by the same good sense and patriotism that appeared in the reception which it gave to the propositions of the royal envoys. The governor was deprived of an arbitrary authority which he had hitherto exercised. It was ordained that he should no longer have power to withdraw the inhabitants from their private labors to his own service, and should levy no taxes but such as the provincial assembly should impose and appropriate. White women still were objects of great scarcity and value in the colony ; and to obviate an inconvenience that resulted from the ardor and frequency of amorous competition, a fine was now imposed on any woman who should encourage the matrimonial addresses of more than one man at a time. Various wise and judicious laws were enacted for the improve-

ment of manners and the reformation of abuses, the support of divine worship, the security of civil and political freedom, and the regulation of traffic with the Indians.

Whether the suit between the king and the company was prosecuted to a judicial consummation or not is a point involved in some uncertainty, and truly of very little importance ; for the issue of a suit between the king and any of his subjects at that period could never be doubtful for a moment. Well aware of this, the company looked to protection more efficient than the ordinary administration of law could afford them, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, detailing a part of their grievances, and soliciting redress. Their application was entertained by the House so cordially, that, had it been sooner presented, it might have saved the corporation ; but they had deferred this last resource till so late a period of the session of parliament, that there was not time to enter on the wide inquiry which their complaints demanded ; and fearing to exasperate the king by preferring odious charges which they could not hope to substantiate, they confined their pleading before the House to the discouragement of their tobacco trade, which the Commons without hesitation pronounced a national grievance. They gained no other advantage from their complaint, nor from their limitation of it. The king, enraged at their presumption, and encouraged by their timidity, launched forth a proclamation [July, 1624], suppressing the courts of the company, and committing the temporary administration of the colonial affairs to certain of his privy counselors, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith and a few other persons.¹ The Virginia Company was thus dissolved, and its rights and privileges reabsorbed by the crown.

James did not suffer the powers he had resumed to remain long unexercised. He issued a special commission [August, 1624], appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom the direction of the affairs of the colony was intrusted. No mention was made in this instrument of a house of representatives ; a circumstance, which, coupled with the subsequent imposition of royal proclamations as legislative edicts, has led al-

¹ Rymer. Hazard.

most all the historians of Virginia into the mistaken belief, that the provincial assembly was abolished along with the mercantile corporation. The commission ascribes the disasters of the settlement to the popular shape of its late government, which intercepted and weakened the beneficial influence of the king's superior understanding ; and, in strains of the most vulgar and luscious self-complacency, prospectively celebrates the prosperity which the colony must infallibly attain, when blessed with the directer rays of royal wisdom. With this demonstration of hostility to the political liberties of the colonists, there was mingled some favorable attention to their commercial interests ; for, in consequence of the remonstrance of the English parliament [Sept. 1624], James renewed by proclamation his former prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England, and restricted the importation of this commodity to Virginia and the Somer Isles, and to vessels belonging to British subjects.¹

This was James's last public act in relation to the colony ; for his intention of composing a code of laws for its domestic administration was frustrated by his death. [1625.] He died the first British sovereign of an established empire in America ; and thus closed a reign, of which the only illustrious feature was the colonization which he impelled or promoted. To this favorite object both the virtues and the vices of his character proved subservient. If the merit he might claim from his original patronage of the Virginian colonists be cancelled by his subsequent efforts to bereave them of their liberties ; and if his persecution of the Puritans in their native country be but feebly counterbalanced by his willingness to grant them an asylum in New England ; — his attempts to civilize Ireland by colonization connect him more honorably with the great events of his reign. Harassed by the turbulent and distracted state of Ireland, and averse to the sanguinary remedy of military operation, he endeavoured to impart a new character to its inhabitants by planting colonies of the English in the six northern counties of that island. He prosecuted this plan with so much wisdom and steadiness, as to cause, in the space of nine years, greater advances towards the reformation of Ireland than were

¹ Rymer. Hazard.

made in the four hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the conquest of the country was first attempted, and laid the foundation of whatever affluence and security it has since been enabled to attain.¹ It is difficult to recognize the dogmatical oppressor of the Puritans, and the weak and arrogant tyrant of Virginia, in the wise and humane legislator of Ireland.

The fall of the Virginia Company excited the less concern, and the arbitrary measures of the king the less odium, in England, from the disappointments and calamities with which the colonial plantation had been attended. More than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds² were already expended on this settlement, and upwards of nine thousand inhabitants had been sent to it from the mother country. Yet, at the dissolution of the company, the gross value of the annual imports from Virginia did not exceed twenty thousand pounds, and the population of the province was reduced to about eighteen hundred persons.³ The effect of this unprosperous issue, in facilitating the overthrow of the corporation, may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance for Virginia ; for, however unjust and tyrannical were the views and conduct of the king, they were overruled to the production of a most important benefit to the colony, in the suppression of an institution which would have dangerously loaded and cramped its infant prosperity and freedom. It is an observation of the most eminent teacher of political science, that, of all the expedients that could possibly be contrived to stunt the natural growth of a new colony, the institution of an exclusive company is the most effectual ;⁴ and the observation is confirmed by the experience of history. In surveying the constitutions and tracing the progress of the various colonial establishments which the nations of Europe have successfully formed, we find a close and invariable connection between the decline and the revival of their prosperity and the ascendancy and overthrow of sovereign mercantile corporations.

A sovereign company of merchants must ever consider their political power as an instrument of commercial gain, and as deriving its chief value from the means it gives them to repress competition, to buy cheaply the commodities they obtain from

¹ Leland's *History of Ireland*. Hume's *History of England*.

² Smith.

³ Chalmers's *Annals*.

⁴ Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

their subject customers, and to sell as dearly as possible the articles with which they supply them ; that is, to diminish the incitement and the reward of industry to the colonists, by restricting their powers and opportunities of acquiring what they need and disposing of what they have. The mercantile habits of the rulers prevail over their political interest, and lead them not only to prefer immediate profit to permanent revenue, but to adapt their administration to this policy, and render government subservient to the purposes of monopoly. They are almost necessarily led to devolve a large discretionary power on their provincial officers, over whom they retain at the same time but a feeble control. Whether we regard the introduction of martial law into Virginia as the act of the company, or (as it really seems to have been) the unauthorized act of the treasurer and the provincial governors, the prevalence it obtained displays, in either case, the unjust and arbitrary policy of an exclusive company, or the inability of such a sovereign body to protect its subjects against the oppression of its officers. How incapable an organ of this description must be to conduct a plan of civil policy on fixed and stable principles, and how strongly its system of government must tend to perpetual fluctuation, is attested by the fact, that, in the course of eighteen years, no fewer than ten successive governors had been appointed to preside over the province. Even after the vigorous spirit of liberty, which was so rapidly gaining ground in that age, had enabled the colonists to extort from the company the right of composing laws for the regulation of their own community, still, as the company's sanction was requisite to give legal prevalence to the enactments of the provincial legislature, the paramount authority resided with men who had but a temporary interest in the fate of their subjects and the resources of their territories. While, therefore, we sympathize with the generous indignation which the historians of America have expressed at the tyrannical measures by which the company was dissolved, we must regard with satisfaction an event, which, by its concomitant circumstances, inculcated an abhorrence of arbitrary power, and by its operation overthrew a system under which no colony has ever grown up to a vigorous maturity.

Charles the First inherited [March, 1625], with his father's throne, all the maxims that had latterly regulated his colonial policy. Of this he hastened to give assurance to his subjects by a series of proclamations, which he issued soon after his accession to the crown, and which distinctly unfolded the arbitrary principles which he entertained, and the tyrannical administration he intended to pursue. He declared, that, after mature deliberation, he had adopted his father's opinion, that the misfortunes of the colony were occasioned by the democratical frame of its civil constitution, and the incapacity of a mercantile company to conduct even the most insignificant affairs of state ; that he held himself in honor engaged to accomplish the work that James had begun ; that he considered the American colonies to be a part of the royal empire devolved to him with the other dominions of the crown ; that he was fully resolved to establish a uniform course of government through the whole British monarchy ; and that henceforward the entire administration of the Virginian government should be vested in a council nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him alone. This unlimited arrogation of power has given rise to the common belief, that Charles deemed the provincial assembly already abolished ; and the arbitrary manner in which the functions of this body were repeatedly superseded by exertions of royal prerogative in the earlier part of the present reign has induced the greater number of the historians of Virginia erroneously to suppose and relate, that no assembly was actually convoked in the province during that period. But in truth neither the king nor his father seems to have entertained the design of extirpating the popular branch of the constitution. Their object appears to have been to reduce it to what they conceived a due subordination to the supremacy of their own prerogative ; and to vindicate and develope the efficacy of royal proclamations, both in suspending laws already made, and in legislating for cases not yet regulated by statutory provision.

While Charles expressed the utmost scorn of the capacity of a mercantile corporation, he did not disdain to embrace its illiberal spirit, and copy its interested policy. As a specimen of the extent of legislative authority which he intended to exert, and of

the purposes to which he meant to render it subservient, he prohibited the Virginians, under the most absurd and frivolous pretences, from selling their tobacco to any persons but certain commissioners appointed by himself to purchase it on his own account.¹ Thus the colonists found themselves subjected to a municipal administration that combined the vices of both its predecessors, — the unlimited prerogative of an arbitrary prince, with the narrowest maxims of a mercantile corporation ; and saw their legislative rights invaded, their laws and usages rendered uncertain, all the profits of their industry engrossed, and their only valuable commodity monopolized by the sovereign, who pretended to have resumed the government of the colony only in order to blend it more perfectly with the general frame of the British empire.

Charles conferred the office of governor of Virginia on Sir George Yeardley, and empowered him, in conjunction with a council of twelve persons, to exercise the authority of an indefinite prerogative ; to make and execute laws ; to impose and levy taxes ; to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to public uses ; and to transport the colonists to England, to be tried there for offences committed in Virginia. The governor and council were specially directed to exact the oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every inhabitant of the colony, and in all points to conform their own conduct to the instructions which from time to time the king might transmit to them.² [1627.] Yeardley's early death prevented the full weight of his authority from being experienced by the colonists during his short administration. He died in the beginning of the year 1627, and, two years after, was succeeded by Sir John Harvey. Meanwhile, and during a long subsequent course of time, the king, who seems to have inherited his father's prejudices respecting tobacco,³ continued to restrict and encumber the importation and sale of this commodity by a series of regulations so vexatious, oppressive, multifarious, and

¹ Rymer. Hazard. Burk.

² Chalmers.

³ That he inherited also his father's style of writing against the use of this commodity appears from a letter which he addressed to the governor and council of Virginia in 1627, in which he declares, that "it may well be said that the plantation is wholly built on *smoke*, which will easily turn into *air*, if either English tobacco be permitted to be planted, or Spanish imported." — Burk.

unsteady, that it is impossible to undergo the fatigue of perusing them without a mixture of contempt for the fluctuations and caprice of his counsels, and of indignant pity for the wasted prosperity and abused patience of his people. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, the colonial population increased with rapidity ; and in the year 1628 more than a thousand persons emigrated from Europe to Virginia.¹

Sir John Harvey, the new governor, proved a fit instrument to carry the king's system of arbitrary rule into complete execution. Haughty, rapacious, and cruel, he exercised an odious authority with the most offensive insolence, and by the rigor of his executive energy increased the provocation inspired by his legislatorial usurpation and injustice. His disposition was perfectly congenial with the system which he conducted ; and so thoroughly did he personify as well as administer tyranny, as not only to attract, but to engross in his own person, the odium of which a large share was properly due to the prince who employed him. He added every decree of the Court of High Commission in England to the ecclesiastical constitutions of Virginia ; and selected for especial enforcement every regulation of English law which was unsuitable to the circumstances of the colonists, and therefore likely to entail and multiply legal penalties, all of which were commuted into fines and forfeitures appropriated to the governor.² Of the length to which he carried his arbitrary exactions and tyrannical confiscations some notion may be formed from a letter of instructions by which the royal committee of council for the colonies in England at length thought proper [July, 1634] to inculcate on him a more moderate demeanour. It signified, that the king, in the plenitude of his bounty, and for the encouragement of the planters, desired that the interests which had been acquired under the late corporation should be respected, and that the colonists, "*for the present*, shall enjoy their estates with the same freedom and privilege as they did before the recalling of the patent."³

We might suppose this to be the mandate of an Eastern sultan to one of his satraps ; and, indeed, the rapacious tyranny of

¹ Rymer. Chalmers. Hazard. Campbell.

² Beverley. Burk.

³ State Papers, *ap.* Chalmers.

the governor seems hardly more odious than the cruel mercy of the prince, who interposed to mitigate oppression only when it had reached an extreme which is proverbially liable to inflame the wise with madness and drive the patient to despair. The most significant comment on the letter is, that Harvey was neither censured nor displaced for the injustice which it commanded him to restrain. The effect, moreover, which it was calculated to produce, in ascertaining the rights and quieting the apprehensions of the colonists, was counterbalanced by large and vague grants of territory within the province, which Charles inconsiderately bestowed on his courtiers, and which gave rise to numerous encroachments on established possession, and excited general distrust of the validity of titles and the stability of property. The consequence of one of these grants was the formation of the State of Maryland, by dismembering a large portion of territory that was previously annexed to Virginia. For many years, this event proved a source of much discontent and serious inconvenience to the Virginian colonists, who had endeavoured to improve their trade by restricting themselves to the exportation only of tobacco of superior quality, and now found themselves deprived of all the advantage of this sacrifice by the transference of a portion of their own territory to neighbours who refused assent to their regulations.¹

The instructions communicated by the letter of the royal committee left Harvey still in possession of ample scope to his tyranny [1635] ; and the colonial assembly, respecting or overawed by the authority with which he was invested, endured it for some time longer without resistance, and practically restricted their own functions to the degrading ceremonial of registering the edicts and decrees of their tyrant. At length, after a spirited, but ineffectual, attempt to curb his excesses by enactments which he disregarded, the assembly, yielding to the general desire of their constituents, suspended him from his office, and sent him a prisoner to England, along with two deputies from their own body, who were charged with the duty of representing the grievances of the colony and the misconduct

¹ Beverley.

of the governor. But their reliance on the justice of the king proved to be very ill founded. Charles was fated to teach his subjects, that, if they meant to retain their liberties, they must prepare to defend them ; that neither submissive patience nor respectful remonstrance could avail to relax or divert his arbitrary purposes ; and that, in order to obtain justice to themselves, they must deprive him of the power of withholding it. The inhabitants of Virginia endured oppression (of which he had already avowed his consciousness) with long resignation, and, even when their yoke became intolerable, showed that they neither imputed their wrongs to him nor doubted his disposition to redress them. Against the hardships and ill treatment to which they were exposed, they appealed to him as their protector, and implored a relief to which their claim was supported by every consideration that could impress a just or move a generous mind. Yet, instead of commiserating their sufferings, or redressing their wrongs, Charles resented their conduct on this occasion as an act of presumptuous audacity little short of rebellion ; and all the applications of their deputies were rejected with calm injustice and inflexible disdain. Harvey, released from his bonds, became in his turn the accuser ; and the calumnies of the disgraced and banished tyrant were listened to with complacency and attention, while the representatives of the brave and loyal people whom he had oppressed were regarded as traitors, and forbidden to appear in the presence of their sovereign. The king refused to hear a single word from the provincial deputies, either in defence of their countrymen or in crimination of Harvey ; and, having reinstated this obnoxious governor in his office, sent him back to Virginia [April, 1637] with a renovation of the powers which he had so grossly abused. There, elated with his triumph, and inflamed with rage, Harvey resumed and aggravated a tyrannical sway that has entailed infamy on himself and disgrace on his sovereign, and provoked complaints so loud and vehement, that they began to penetrate into England, where they produced an impression, which, mingling with the general irritation in the parent state, could not be safely disregarded.¹

¹ Chalmers. Oldmixon. Burk.

If the administration of Sir John Harvey had been protracted much longer, it must have ended in the revolt or the ruin of the colony. So great was the distress it occasioned, as to excite the earnest attention of the Indians, and awaken their slumbering hostility by suggesting the hope of exerting it with success. Opechancanough, the ancient enemy of the colonists, was now far advanced in years [1638] ; but age, though it had bent his body and dimmed his eyes, had neither impaired his discernment nor extinguished his animosity. Proud, subtle, sly, fierce, and cruel, he watched, with enduring and considerate hate, the opportunity of redeeming his glory and satiating his revenge. Seizing the favorable occasion presented by the distracted state of the province, he again led his warriors to a sudden and furious attack, which the colonists did not repel without the loss of five hundred men. A general war ensued between them and all the Indian tribes under the influence of Opechancanough.¹

But a great change was now [1639] to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress of their grievances. The public discontents, which had for many years been gathering force and virulence in England, were advancing with rapid strides to a full maturity, and threatened to issue in some violent eruption. After a long intermission, Charles was forced to contemplate the reassembling of a parliament ; and perfectly aware of the ill-humor already engendered by his government at home, he had reason to apprehend that the displeasure of the Commons would be inflamed, and their worst suspicions confirmed, by representations of the despotism exercised in Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even secure the adherence of a people, who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince whose sovereignty was regarded as the bond of political union between them and the parent state ; and from the propagation of the complaints of colonial grievances in England, it was easy to foresee that the redress of them, if longer withheld by the king, would be granted, to the great detriment of his credit and influence, by the parliament. To this assembly the Vir-

¹ Beverley.

ginians had applied on a former occasion, and the encouragement they had met with increased the probability both of a repetition of their application and of a successful issue to it. These considerations alone seem to account for the entire and sudden alteration which the colonial policy of the king underwent at this period. Harvey was recalled, and the government of Virginia was committed [1641], first, to Sir Francis Wyatt, and afterwards to Sir William Berkeley, — a person not only of superior rank and abilities to any of his immediate predecessors, but distinguished by every popular virtue of which Harvey was deficient, — of upright and honorable character, mild and prudent temper, and manners at once dignified and engaging. A change not less gratifying was introduced into the system of government. The new governor was instructed to recognize in the amplest manner the legislative privileges of the provincial assembly, and to invite this body to compose a code of laws for the province, and improve the administration of justice by introduction of the forms of English judicial procedure.

Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists the full enjoyment of those liberties which they had originally procured from the Virginian Company, and which had been exposed to continual peril and violation from the same authority by which the company itself was subverted. Universal joy and gratitude were excited throughout the colony; and the king, who, amidst the hostility that lowered upon him from every other quarter of his dominions, was addressed in the language of grateful loyalty by this people, seems to have been a little touched by the generous sentiments which he had so ill deserved, and which forcibly proved to him how cheap and easy were the means by which princes may render their subjects attached and happy. And yet so strong were the illusions of his self-love, or so deliberate his artifice, that, in his answer to an address of the colonists, he eagerly appropriated the praise for which he was indebted to their generosity alone, and endeavoured to extend the application of their expressions of gratitude even to the policy from which he had desisted in order to awaken this sentiment.¹

¹ Beverley. Chalmers. Campbell.

While Charles thus again introduced the principles of the British constitution into the domestic government of Virginia, he was not inattentive to the policy of preserving its dependence on the mother country, and securing to England the exclusive possession of the colonial trade. [1641.] For this purpose Sir William Berkeley was directed to prohibit all commerce with other nations, and to require a bond from the master of every vessel sailing from Virginia, obliging him to land his cargo in some part of the king's dominions in Europe. Yet the pressure of this restraint was more than counterbalanced by the gracious strain of the other contemporary measures of the crown ; and with a mild and liberal domestic government, which offered a peaceful asylum and distributed ample tracts of land to all emigrants who sought its protection, the colony advanced so rapidly in prosperity and population, that, at the beginning of the civil war in the parent state, it contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants. By the vigor and conduct of Sir William Berkeley, the Indian war, after a few campaigns, was brought to a successful close ; Opechancanough was taken prisoner ; ¹ and a peace concluded with the savages, which endured for many years.

It was happy for Virginia that the restitution of her domestic liberties was accomplished in this manner, and not deferred till a later period, when the boon would probably have been attended with the reëstablishment of the company of patentees. To this consummation some of the members of the suppressed company had been eagerly looking forward ; and notwithstanding the disappointment inflicted on their hopes by the redress of those grievances whose existence would have aided their pretensions, they endeavoured to turn to their own advantage the jealous avidity with which every complaint against the royal government was received in the Long Parliament, by presenting a petition in the name of the assembly of Virginia,

¹ Beverley. It was the intention of Sir William Berkeley to send this remarkable personage to England ; but he was shot, after being taken prisoner, by a soldier, in resentment of the calamities he had inflicted on the province. He lingered under the mortal wound for several days, and continued proud and stout-hearted to the last. Indignant at the crowds who came to gaze at him on his death-bed, he exclaimed, "If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to the people." He would probably have made him expire under Indian torture.

praying for a restoration of the ancient patents. This petition, though supported by some of the colonists, who were justly dissatisfied with the discouragement which the Puritan doctrines, and certain preachers of them whom they had invited from Massachusetts,¹ experienced from the domestic government of Virginia, was, undoubtedly, not the act of the assembly, nor the expression of the prevailing sentiment in the colony. The assembly had tasted the sweets of unrestricted freedom, and were not disposed to hazard or encumber their system of liberty by reattaching it to the mercantile corporation under which it was originally established. No sooner were they apprized of the petition to the House of Commons than they transmitted an explicit disavowal of it; and at the same time presented an address to the king, acknowledging his bounty and favor to them, and desiring to continue under his immediate protection. In the fervor of their loyalty, they framed and published a declaration [1642], "that they were born under monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births by being subject to any other government."²

The only misfortune attending the manner in which the Virginians had regained their liberties was, that it allied their partial regards to an authority which was destined to be overthrown in the approaching civil war, and which could no more reward than it deserved their allegiance. During the whole period of the struggle between the king and parliament in England, they remained unalterably attached to the royal cause; and after Charles the First was beheaded, and his son driven out of the kingdom, they acknowledged the fugitive prince as their sovereign, and conducted the provincial government under a commission which he despatched to Sir William Berkeley from Breda.³ The royal family, though they had little opportunity during their exile of cultivating their interest in the colony, were not entirely regardless of it. [June, 1650.] Henrietta Maria, the queen-mother, obtained the assistance of the French government to the execution of a scheme projected by

¹ This transaction forms a part of the history of New England.

² Chalmers. *Gordon's History of America*. Burk.

³ *Hume's England*. Chalmers. This year a tract was published at London, by one Edward Williams, recommending the culture of silk in Virginia.

Sir William Davenant, the poet, of emigrating in company with a large body of artificers whom he collected in France, and founding with them a new plantation in Virginia. The expedition was intercepted by the English fleet; and Davenant, who was taken prisoner, owed the safety of his life to the friendship of Milton.¹

But the parliament, having subdued all opposition in England, was not disposed to suffer its authority to be questioned in Virginia. Incensed at the open defiance of its power in this quarter, it issued an ordinance [Oct. 1650], declaring that the settlement of Virginia, having originated from the wealth and population of England and the authority of the state, ought to be subordinate to and dependent upon the English commonwealth, and subject to the legislation of parliament; that the colonists, instead of rendering this dutiful submission, had audaciously disclaimed the supremacy of their parent state, and rebelled against it; and that, consequently, they now deserved to be regarded as notorious robbers and traitors. Not only was all connection prohibited with these refractory colonists, and the council of state empowered to send out a fleet and army to reduce them to obedience, but all foreign nations were expressly interdicted from trading with any of the English settlements in America.² It might reasonably be supposed that this latter restriction would have created a common feeling, throughout all the English colonies, of opposition to the government of the parent state. But the colonists of Massachusetts were much more cordially united by similarity of political sentiments and religious opinions with the leaders of the English commonwealth, than by identity of commercial interest with the inhabitants of Virginia. The religious views that had founded their colonial society long regulated all its municipal

¹ Johnson's *Life of Milton*. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, V. 688. Cowley, in a poem addressed to Davenant, exclaims,

"Sure 't was the noble boldness of the Muse
Did thy desire to seek new worlds infuse."

But the motive of Davenant is, perhaps, better illustrated by the example than by the genius of Cowley. Impatient of the tumultuous distractions of Europe, these votaries of the peaceful pursuits of literature sighed for a sojourn in the "safer world" of America. In the preface to a volume of his poems, published in 1656, Cowley declares, that "his desire had been for some time past, and did still very vehemently continue, to retire himself to some of the American plantations, and to forsake this world for ever."

² Scobell's *Acts*, 1650, cap. 28.

policy, and prevailed over every other consideration. And no sooner were the people of Massachusetts apprized of the parliamentary ordinance, than they hastened to corroborate its prohibition of intercourse with Virginia, by a corresponding enactment of their own domestic legislature.¹

The measures of the republican rulers of England were as prompt and decisive as their language. They quickly despatched Sir George Ayscue with an armament sufficient to overpower the provincial royalists, and extinguish the last traces of living monarchical authority that still lingered in the extremities of the empire. The commissioners who were appointed to accompany this expedition received instructions more creditable to the vigor than to the moderation and humanity of the parliamentary councils. They were empowered to try, in the first instance, the efficacy of pardons and other conciliatory propositions in reducing the colonists to obedience ; but if their pacific overtures should prove ineffectual, they were directed then to employ every species of hostile operation, to set free the servants and slaves of all the planters who continued refractory, and furnish them with arms to assist in the subjugation of their masters.² This barbarous plan of hostility resembles less a war than a massacre, and suggests the painful reflection, that an assembly possessed of absolute power, and continually protesting that the glory of God and the liberty of mankind were the chief ends for which they assumed it, never once projected the liberation of the negro slaves in their own dominions, except for the purpose of converting them into instruments of bloodshed, ravage, and conquest.

The English squadron, after reducing the colonies in Barbadoes and other islands to the sway of the commonwealth, entered the Bay of Chesapeake. [1651.] Berkeley, apprized of the invasion, hastened to engage the assistance of a few Dutch ships which were then trading to Virginia, contrary both to the royal and the parliamentary injunctions, and with more courage than prudence prepared to oppose the invading armament ; but though he was cordially supported by the royalists, who formed the great majority of the inhabitants, it was

¹ Hazard.

² Thurloe's *State Papers*. Hazard.

evident that he had undertaken an unequal contest. Yet his gallant demonstration of resistance, though unavailing to repel the invaders, enabled him to procure to his people favorable terms of submission. By the articles of surrender, a complete indemnity was stipulated for all past offences ; and the colonists, recognizing the authority, were admitted into the bosom of the English commonwealth, and expressly assured of an equal participation in all the civil rights of the people of England. In particular, it was conditioned that the provincial assembly should retain its wonted functions ; and that "the people of Virginia shall have as free trade as the people of England to all places and with all nations," and "shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever, without the consent of their own assembly." Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself with those whom his principles of loyalty taught him to regard as usurpers. Without leaving Virginia, he withdrew to a retired situation, where he continued to reside as a private individual, universally beloved and respected, till a new revolution was to summon him once more to defy the republican forces of England, and restore the ascendancy of royalty in the province.¹

But it was the dependence, and not the mere adherence of the colonies, that the rulers of the English commonwealth were desirous to obtain ; and their shameless disregard of the treaty concluded by their own commissioners demonstrated in a striking manner with how little equity absolute power is exercised, even by those who have shown themselves most prompt to resent the infliction of its rigor upon themselves. Having now obtained from the colonies a recognition of the authority which they administered, they hastened to adopt measures for promoting their dependence on England, and securing the exclusive possession of their increasing commerce. With this view, as well as for the purpose of provoking a quarrel with the Dutch, by aiming a blow at their carrying trade,² the parliament not only forebore to repeal the ordinance of the preceding year, which prohibited commercial intercourse between the English colonies and foreign states, but framed another

¹ Beverley. Oldmixon. Chalmers. Burk.

² Hume's *England*.

law [1652] which was to introduce a new era of commercial jurisprudence, and to found the celebrated navigation system of England. By this remarkable law, (of which the general policy was warmly commended in the parliamentary speeches and political writings of the learned Selden,) it was enacted that no production of Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, except in vessels belonging to English owners or inhabitants of the English colonies, and navigated by crews of which the captain and the majority of the sailors should be Englishmen.¹ Willing, at the same time, to encourage the cultivation of the staple commodity of Virginia, the parliament soon after passed an act confirming all the royal proclamations against planting tobacco in England.²

This unjust restriction of the colonial traffic, though by no means rigorously enforced, tended to keep alive in Virginia the attachment to the royal cause, which was farther maintained by emigrations of the distressed cavaliers, who resorted thither in such numbers, that the population of the colony amounted to thirty thousand persons at the epoch of the Restoration. But Cromwell had now prevailed over the parliament [1653], and held the reins of the commonwealth in his vigorous hands ; and though the flame of discontent was secretly nourished in Virginia by the passions and intrigues of so many cavalier exiles, yet the eruption of it was repressed by the terror of his name, and the energy which he infused into every department of his administration. Other causes, too, which have been long obscured by the misrepresentations of partial or ignorant historians, contributed to the tranquillity and security of Cromwell's dominion in Virginia. For a century and a half it had been repeatedly asserted, without contradiction, by successive generations of writers,³ that the government of the Protector in

¹ Scobell's *Acts*, 1651, cap. 22. The germ of this famous system of policy occurs in English legislation so early as the year 1381, when it was enacted by the statute of 5 Rich. II. cap. 3, "that, to increase the navy of England, no goods or merchandises shall be either exported or imported but only in ships belonging to the king's subjects." This enactment was premature, and soon fell into disuse. A bill proclaiming its revival to a limited extent, in 1460, was rejected by Henry the Sixth. These measures were probably suggested by the commercial policy of Aragon. See Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, Introd. § 2.

² Scobell's *Acts*, 1652, cap. 2.

³ Among whom we find the respectable names of Beverley, Oldmixon, Chalmers, Robertson, and Gordon.

this province was illiberal and severe ; that he appointed governors whose dispositions rendered them fit instruments of a harsh policy, and yet frequently displaced them from distrust of their exclusive devotion to his interest ; and that, while he indulged his favorite colonists of Massachusetts with a dispensation from the commercial laws of the Long Parliament, he exacted the strictest compliance with them from the Virginians. But the reputation of Cromwell's colonial policy has been triumphantly vindicated by the intelligent industry and research of a modern historian¹ of this province, who has proved, beyond the possibility of further doubt or denial, that the treatment which the Virginians experienced under the protectorate was mild and humane ; that their privileges were rather enlarged than circumscribed ; and that Cromwell dignified his usurped dominion over them by the most liberal justice and fearless magnanimity.

So far from having regulated the appointment and dismissal of governors by the principles which have been imputed to him, he never appointed or displaced a single governor of the province ; but, from the first, surrendered this branch of the sovereign's prerogative to the legislative assembly of a state which he knew to be the resort of his own most implacable enemies ; and though he appears not to have granted to the Virginians an express exemption from the commercial ordinances of the Long Parliament, he suffered them practically to indulge a total disregard of these oppressive restrictions. Though his government was not fitted to inspire attachment, it seems to have gained the esteem and approbation of impartial and considerate men in Virginia, and to have trained their minds to freer reflection and inquiry than they had ever before entertained with respect to the reasonable objects and purposes for which municipal governments are instituted. But from a numerous and increasing party of the inhabitants of Virginia neither dispassionate reflection nor impartial judgment could reasonably be expected. To many of them the name of Cromwell was associated with recollections of personal disap-

¹ Burk. The history of Virginia has derived the most valuable and important illustration from the industry and genius of this writer. His style is defaced by florid, meretricious ornament.

pointment and humiliation ; and to all of them it recalled the ruin of their friends and the death and exile of their kings. Hatred and hope combined to unite their hearts to the downfall of the protectorate and commonwealth ; and as passionate are much more contagious than merely reasonable sentiments, the public mind in Virginia, notwithstanding the liberality of Cromwell's administration, was strongly leavened with the wish and expectation of change.

The Puritan colonists of New England had always been the objects of suspicion and dislike to a great majority of the inhabitants of Virginia ; and the manifest partiality which Cromwell entertained for them now increased the aversion with which they were heretofore regarded. New England was generally considered by the cavaliers as the centre and focus of Puritan sentiment and republican principle ; and, actuated partly by religious and partly by political feelings, the Virginian cavaliers conceived a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that were reckoned peculiar to the Puritans ; and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in New England, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew and of the principles to which it administered support.¹ At length the disgust and impatience of the royalist party in Virginia spurned further restraint. Matthews, the last governor appointed during the supremacy of Cromwell [1658], died nearly at the same period with the Protector ; and before an assembly could be convened to nominate his successor, a numerous body of the inhabitants, though yet unacquainted with Cromwell's death, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and, having forced Sir William Berkeley from his retirement, declared him the only governor whom they would acknowledge in Virginia.² Berkeley declining to

¹ The prejudices of an old cavalier against popular education are strikingly displayed by Sir William Berkeley, in a letter descriptive of the state of Virginia, some years after the Restoration. "I thank God," he says, "there are no free schools nor printing ; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government : God keep us from both !" — Chalmers.

² That Cromwell meditated some important changes in Virginia, which death prevented him from attempting to accomplish, may be inferred from the publication of a small treatise at London in the year 1657, entitled "*Public Good without Private Interest*," written by Dr. Gatford, and dedicated to the Protector. In this little work, the Protector is urged to reform the numerous

act under usurped authority, the insurgents venturously erected the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign ; a measure which entailed apparently a contest with the arms of Cromwell and all the force of the parent state. Happily for the colonists, the distractions that ensued in England deferred the vengeance which her rulers had equal ability and inclination to inflict, till the sudden and unexpected restoration of Charles to the throne of his ancestors [1660] converted imprudent temerity into meritorious service, and enabled the Virginians safely to exult in the singularity which they long and proudly commemorated, that they were the last of the British subjects who renounced, and the first who resumed, their allegiance to the crown.¹

abuses extant in Virginia, — the disregard of religion, — the neglect of education, — and the fraudulent dealings of the planters with the Indians ; on all which topics the author descants very forcibly. Of this treatise, as well as of the tracts by Hamer and Williams and some others, which I have had occasion to notice elsewhere, I found copies in the library of the late George Chalmers.

¹ Oldmixon. Beverley. Chalmers. Burk. Campbell.

CHAPTER III.

The Navigation Act — its Impolicy. — Discontent and Distress of the Colonists. — Naturalization of Aliens. — Progress of the provincial Discontent. — Indian Hostilities. — Bacon's Rebellion. — Death of Bacon — and Restoration of Tranquillity. — Bill of Attainder passed by the colonial Assembly. — Sir William Berkeley superseded by Colonel Jeffreys. — Partiality of the new Governor — Dispute with the Assembly. — Renewal of Discontents. — Lord Culpepper appointed Governor — Severity and Rapacity of his Administration. — An Insurrection — Punishment of the Insurgents. — Arbitrary Measures of the Crown. — James the Second — augments the Burdens of the Colonists. — Corrupt and oppressive Government of Lord Effingham. — Revolution in Britain. — Complaints of the Colonies against the former Governors discouraged by King William. — Effect of the English Revolution on the American Colonies. — State of Virginia at this Period — Population — Laws — Manners.

THE intelligence of the restoration of the House of Stuart to the throne of Britain excited very different emotions in the various British colonies which were now established in America. We shall have occasion hereafter to notice the gloomy impressions it produced in the States of New England. In Virginia, whose separate history we still exclusively pursue, it was received by a great majority of the people like the surprising fulfilment of an agreeable dream, and hailed with acclamations of unfeigned and unbounded joy. Even that class of the inhabitants, which had recently expressed esteem and approbation of the protectoral government, manifested a new-born zeal for royalty hardly inferior to the more consistent ardor of the genuine cavaliers. These sentiments, confirmed by the gracious expressions of regard and good-will¹ which the

¹ Sir William Berkeley, who made a journey to England to congratulate the king on his restoration, was received at court with distinguished regard; and Charles, in honor of his loyal Virginians, wore at his coronation a robe manufactured of Virginian silk. — Oldmixon.

This was not the first royal robe that America supplied. Queen Elizabeth wore a gown made of the silk grass, of which Raleigh's colonists sent a quantity to England. — Coxe's *Description of Carolana*. There is a copy of this curious work in the library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

king very readily vouchsafed, begot hopes of substantial favor and recompense which it was not easy to gratify, and which were fated to undergo a speedy and severe disappointment. Sir William Berkeley, having received a new commission from the crown to exercise the office of governor [1660], convoked the provincial assembly, which, after zealous declarations of loyalty and satisfaction, undertook a general revision of the laws and institutions of Virginia. Trial by jury, which had been discontinued for some years, was now again restored; judicial procedure was disencumbered of various abuses; and a provision of essential importance to the interests of liberty was made for enlarging the number of representatives in the assembly in proportion to the increase of the province in peopled and cultivated territory. The supremacy of the church of England was recognized and established by law; stipends were allotted to its ministers; and no preachers but those who had received their ordination from a bishop in England, and who should subscribe an engagement of conformity to the forms and constitutions of this established church, were permitted to exercise their functions either publicly or privately within the colony.¹ A law was shortly after enacted against the importation of Quakers into Virginia, under the penalty of five thousand pounds of tobacco inflicted on the importers; but with a special exception of such Quakers as might be judicially transported from England for breach of her legislative ordinances.²

The same principles of government which prevailed in England after the Restoration uniformly extended their influence, whether salutary or baneful, across the Atlantic; and the colonies, no longer deemed the mere property of the prince, were considered as adjunctions of the British territory, and subject to parliamentary legislation. The explicit declaration by the Long Parliament of the dependence of the colonies on the parent state introduced maxims which received the sanction of the courts of Westminster Hall, and were thus interwoven with the fabric of English law. In a variety of cases

¹ Chalmers. Burk.

² Chalmers. In 1663, the assembly entertained a complaint against one of its own members, of "being loving to the Quakers." — Burk.

which involved this great constitutional point, the judges pronounced, that, by virtue of those principles of the common law which bind the territories to the state, the American plantations were included within the pale of British dominion and legislation, and affected by acts of parliament, either when specially named or when reasonably supposable within the contemplation of the legislature.¹ In conformity with the adjudications of the courts of law was the uniform tenor of the parliamentary proceedings ; and the colonists soon perceived, that, although the Long Parliament was no more, it had bequeathed to its successors the spirit which influenced its commercial councils. The new House of Commons determined not only to retain the system of colonial policy which the Long Parliament had introduced, but to mature and extend it, — to render the trade of the colonies completely subject to parliamentary governance, and exclusively subservient to the interests of English commerce and navigation.

No sooner was Charles seated on the throne, than a duty of five *per cent.* was imposed by the parliament on all merchandise exported from, or imported into, any of the dominions belonging to the crown ;² and the same session, in producing the celebrated *Navigation Act* [1660], originated the most memorable and important branch of the commercial code of England. By this statute, (in addition to many other important provisions, which are foreign to our present consideration,) it was ordained, that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from thence, but in vessels built in England or her colonial plantations, and navigated by crews of which the masters and three fourths of the mariners should be English subjects, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo ; that none but natural-born subjects of the English crown, or persons legally naturalized, should exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English colonial settlement, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels ; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dyeing, produced

¹ Freeman's *Reports*, 175. *Modern Reports*, III. 159, 160, IV. 225. Vaughan's *Reports*, 170, 400. Salkeld's *Reports*, II. 6.

² 12 Car. II. cap. 4.

or manufactured in the colonies, should be shipped from them to any other country than England ; and to secure the observance of this regulation, ship-owners were required, at the port of lading, to give bonds with surety for sums proportioned to the tonnage of their vessels.¹ The commercial wares thus restricted were termed *enumerated commodities* ; and when new articles of colonial produce, as the rice of Carolina and the copper ore of the northern provinces, were raised into importance, and brought into commerce by the increasing industry of the colonists, they were successively added to the original list which we have noted, and subjected to the same regulations.

As some compensation to the colonies for these commercial restraints, the parliament at the same time conferred on them the exclusive supply of tobacco, by prohibiting its cultivation in England, Ireland, Guernsey, and Jersey.² The Navigation Act was soon after enlarged, and additional restrictions imposed by a new law [1663], which prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in vessels laden in England and navigated and manned in conformity with the requisitions of the original statute. More rigorous and effectual provisions were likewise devised for securing the infliction of the penalties attached to the transgression of the Navigation Act ; and the principles of commercial policy on which the whole system was founded were openly avowed in a declaration, that, as it was the practice of other nations to keep the trade of their plantations to themselves, so the colonies that were founded and peopled by English subjects ought to be retained in firm dependence upon England, and obliged to contribute to her advantage in the employment of English shipping, the vent of English commodities and manufactures, and the conversion of England into a settled mart or emporium, not only of the productions of her own colonies, but also of such commodities of other countries as the colonies themselves might require to be supplied with.³ Advancing a step farther in the prosecution of its domineering policy, the parliament assumed the prerogative of regulating the trade of the several colonies with each other ; and as the Act of Navigation

¹ 12 Car. II. cap. 18.

² Ibid. cap. 34.

³ 15 Car. II. cap. 7.

had left all the colonists at liberty to export the enumerated commodities from one settlement to another without paying any duty, this exemption was subsequently withdrawn, and they were subjected, in trading with each other, to a tax equivalent to what was levied on the consumption of their peculiar commodities in England.¹

The system pursued by these regulations, of securing to England a monopoly of the trade of her colonies, by shutting up every other channel which competition might have formed for it, and into which the interest of the colonists might have caused it preferably to flow, excited in their minds the utmost disgust and indignation. In England, it was long applauded as a masterpiece of political sagacity; retained and cherished as a main source of national opulence and power; and defended on the plea of expediency, deduced from its supposed advantages. The philosophy of political science, however, has amply refuted these illiberal principles, and would long ago have corrected the views and amended the institutions which they sanctioned or introduced, but that, from the general prevalence of narrow jealousies, and of those obstinate and violent prepossessions that constitute wilful ignorance, the cultivation of political science has much more frequently terminated in knowledge merely speculative, than visibly operated to improve human conduct, or increase human happiness.

Nations, biased by virulent enmities, as well as mean partialities, have suffered an illiberal jealousy of other states to contract the views they have formed of their own interests, and to induce a line of policy, of which the operation is to procure a smaller amount of exclusive gain, in preference to a larger contingent in the participation of general advantage. Too passionate or gross-sighted to discern the bonds that connect the interests of all the members of the great family of mankind, they have accounted the detriment and exclusion of their rivals equivalent to an extension of benefit to themselves. The prevalence of this mistaken policy has commonly been aided by the interested representations of the few who contrive to extract a temporary and partial advantage from every abuse,

¹ 25 Car. II. cap. 7, Anno 1672.

however generally pernicious ; and when, in spite of a faulty commercial system, the prosperity of a state has been augmented by the force of its natural advantages, this effect has been eagerly ascribed to the very causes which really impeded and abridged, without being able entirely to intercept it. But the discoveries obtained by the cultivation of political science have, in this respect, coincided with the dictates of Christian morality, and demonstrated, that, in every transaction between nations and individuals, the intercourse most solidly and lastingly beneficial to both and each of the parties is that which is founded on the principles of fair reciprocity and mutual accommodation ; that all policy suggested by jealous or malevolent regard of the advantage of others implies a narrow and perverted view of our own ; that that which is morally wrong can never be politically right ; and that to do as we would be done by is not less the maxim of prudence than the precept of piety. So coherent must true philosophy ever be with the prescriptions of divine wisdom. But, unfortunately, this coherence has not always been recognized even by those philosophers whose researches have tended to its illustration ; and confining themselves to reasonings sufficiently clear and convincing, no doubt, to persons contemplating human affairs in the simplicity and disinterested abstraction of theoretical survey, they have neglected to promote the acceptance of important truths by reference to those principles that derive them from infallible wisdom, and connect them with the strongest sanctions of human duty.

They have demonstrated ¹ that a parent state, by restraining the commerce of her colonies with other nations, impairs the industry and productiveness both of the colonies and of foreign nations ; and hence, by enfeebling the demand of foreign purchasers, which must be proportioned to their ability, and lessening the quantity of colonial commodities actually produced, which must be proportioned to the actual demand for them, enhances the price of the colonial produce to herself as well as to the rest of the world, and so far diminishes its power to increase the enjoyments and animate the industry of her own

¹ Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

citizens as well as of other states. Besides, the monopoly of the colonial trade produces so high a rate of profit to the merchants who carry it on, as to attract into this channel a great deal of the capital that would, in the natural course of things, be directed to other branches of trade ; and in these branches the profits must consequently be augmented in proportion to the diminished competition of the capitals employed in them. But whenever the ordinary rate of profit in any country is raised by artificial means to a higher pitch than it would naturally attain, that country is necessarily subjected to great disadvantage in every branch of trade of which she does not command a monopoly. Her merchants cannot obtain such higher profit without selling dearer than they otherwise would do both the commodities of foreign countries which they import into their own, and the goods of their own country which they carry abroad. The country thus finds herself undersold at foreign markets in many branches of commerce ; a disadvantage to which she is the more exposed, that in foreign states much capital has been forced into those branches by her exclusion of foreigners from partaking her colonial trade, which would have absorbed a part of it. Thus, by the operation of a monopoly of the colonial trade, the parent state obtains an overgrowth of one branch of distant traffic, at the expense of diminishing the advantages which her own citizens might derive from the unrestricted produce of the colonies, and of impairing all those branches of nearer trade, which, by the greater frequency of their returns, afford the most constant and beneficial excitement to national industry. Her commerce, instead of flowing in a variety of moderate channels, is trained to seek principally one great conduit ; and hence the whole system of her trade and industry is rendered dangerously liable to obstruction and derangement.

But the injurious consequences of this exclusive policy are not confined to its immediate operation upon trade. The progress of our history will demonstrate, that the connection, which a parent state seeks, by the aid of such a system, to maintain with colonies in which the spirit and institutions of liberty obtain any prevalence, carries within itself the principles of its own dissolution. During the infancy of the colonies, a per-

petual and vexatious exertion is required from the parent state to execute and develope her restraining laws ; while a corresponding activity is awakened in the colonies to obstruct or elude their operation. Every rising branch of trade, which is left, for a time or for ever, free to the colonists, serves, by the effect of contrast, to render more striking and sensible the disadvantages of their situation in the regulated branches ; and every extension of the restrictions provokes additional discontent. As the colonies increase their internal strength, and make advances in the possession and appreciation of social importance, the disposition of their inhabitants to emancipate themselves from such restraints is combined with ability to accomplish their deliverance, by the very circumstances and at the very period which will expose the trade of the parent state to the greatest injury and disorder. And the advantages which the commerce of other nations must expect from the destruction of the monopoly unites the wishes of the whole world with the revolt of the colonies, and gives assurance of the most powerful assistance to promote their emancipation.

A better apology for the system which England adopted towards her colonies, than the boasted expediency of her measures would thus appear to supply, may be derived from the admitted fact, that her colonial policy, on the whole, was much less illiberal and oppressive than that which any other nation of Europe had ever been known to pursue. While the foreign trade of the colonies was restrained for the supposed advantage of England, whose prosperity they partook, and by whose power they were or were supposed to be defended, their internal liberty was in the main suffered to flourish and mature itself under the shelter of wise and liberal domestic institutions ; and even the commercial restrictions imposed on them were much less rigorous and injurious than those which the colonies of France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark endured from their respective parent states. The trade of the British settlements was not committed, according to the practice of some of those states, to exclusive companies, nor restricted, according to the practice of others, to a particular port ; but, being left free to all the people, and admitted to all the harbours of England, employed a body of British traders too numerous and dis-

persed to admit of their renouncing mutual competition and uniting in a general confederacy to oppress the colonists and extort exorbitant profits to themselves. This apology is obviously very unsatisfactory, as every attempt to palliate injustice must necessarily be. It was urged with a very bad grace by the people of England, and totally disregarded by the inhabitants of America.

In none of the American colonies did this tyrannical system excite greater resentment than in Virginia, where the larger commerce of the people, their preëminent loyalty, and the recent experience of the lenient and liberal policy of Cromwell, rendered the pressure of the burden more severe, and the infliction of it more exasperating.¹ No sooner was the Navigation Act promulgated in Virginia, and its effects perceived, than the colonists warmly remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned earnestly for relief. But, although the English monarchs were accustomed at this period to exercise a dispensing power over the laws, — insomuch, that, when the court at a later period ventured openly to pursue a system of arbitrary government, even the Act of Navigation itself, so great a favorite with the nation, was suspended for a while by an exertion of this stretch of prerogative, — yet, during the early period of his reign, Charles, unassured of the stability of his throne, and surrounded by ministers of constitutional principles, was compelled to observe the limits of a legal administration, and to aid with his authority the execution even of those laws that were most repugnant to his principles and wishes.² So

¹ It was to Virginia alone that Montesquieu's justificatory principle of the system of restricted trade could be considered as in any degree applicable. "It has been established," says this writer, "that the mother country alone shall trade in the colonies, and that from very good reason, — because the design of the settlement was the extension of commerce, and not the foundation of a city or of a new empire." — *Spirit of Laws*. This was in some measure true in regard to Virginia, though her first charter professes more enlarged designs; but it was not applicable to New England, Maryland, or the other posterior settlements of the English.

² When the parliament, in 1666, proposed the unjust and violent law, which they finally established, against the importation of Irish cattle into England, the king was so much struck with the remonstrances of the Irish people against this measure, that he not only exerted all his interest to oppose the bill, but openly declared that he could not conscientiously assent to it; but the Commons were inflexible in their purpose, and the king was compelled to submit. "The spirit of tyranny," says Hume, "of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their authority over their dependent state."

far from lending a favorable ear to the petition of Virginia, Charles and his ministers adopted measures for carrying the act into strict execution. Intelligence having been received that its provisions were violated almost as generally as they were detested, and that the provincial authorities were reluctant to promote the efficacy of a system which they perceived was so hateful to the persons over whom they presided, — a royal mandate was issued to the governors of the settlements, reprimanding them for the “neglects, or rather contempts,” which the law had sustained, and enjoining their future attention to its rigid enforcement ;¹ and in Virginia, more especially, demonstration was made of the determined purpose of the English government to overcome all provincial resistance, by the erection of forts on the banks of the principal rivers, and the appointment of vessels to cruise on the coasts. But, notwithstanding the threatening measures employed to overawe them, and the vigilance of the British cruisers, the Virginians contrived to evade the law, and to obtain some vent to the accumulating stores of their depreciated produce, by a clandestine traffic with the settlement of the Dutch on Hudson’s River. This relief, however, was inconsiderable ; and the discontent of the planters, inflamed by the hostilities which the frontier Indians now resumed, began to spread so widely as to inspire some veteran soldiers of Cromwell, who had been banished to Virginia, with the hope of rendering themselves masters of the colony, and delivering it entirely from the yoke of England. A conspiracy, which has received the name of *Birkinhead’s Plot*, was formed for this purpose ; but the design, having been seasonably disclosed by the fear or remorse of one of the persons engaged in it, was easily defeated by the prudence and vigor of Sir William Berkeley, and with no farther bloodshed than the execution of four of the conspirators.²

The distress of the colony continuing to increase with the increasing depreciation of tobacco, now confined almost entirely to one market, and with the augmentation of the price of all foreign commodities, now derivable only from the supplies which one country could furnish, — various efforts were made from time to time by the provincial assembly for the relief of

¹ Chalmers. *State Papers*, *ibid*.

² Oldmixon. *Beverley*. Burk.

their constituents. Retaliating, in some degree, the injustice with which they were treated, they framed a law ordaining, that, in the payment of debts, foreign creditors should be postponed to Virginian claimants, and that the provincial tribunals should give precedence in judgments to engagements contracted within the colony. Statutes were enacted for restraining the culture of tobacco; and attempts were made to introduce a new staple, by encouraging the plantation of mulberry-trees and the manufacture of silk; but neither of these projects was successful. Numerous French Protestant refugees being attracted to Maryland by a statute of naturalization in their favor, which was enacted in this province in the year 1666, the Virginian assembly endeavoured to recruit the wealth and population of its territories from the same source, by framing, in like manner, a series of laws which empowered the governor to confer on aliens taking the oath of allegiance all the privileges of naturalization [1671];¹ but it was provisionally subjoined, that this concession should not be construed to vest aliens with the power of exercising any function which they were disabled from performing by the statutes of the English parliament relative to the colonies. This prudent reference to a restriction which the provincial patents of naturalization must inevitably have received from the common law was intended to guard against the disputes and confiscations which might ensue from the attempts of naturalized aliens to infringe the Navigation Act. But the precaution was unavailing; and at an after period

¹ It was not till after the Revolution of 1688 that the population of Virginia received any accession from the influx of these or other foreigners. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley thus describes the state of its population:—"There are in Virginia above 40,000 persons, men, women, and children; of which there are 2,000 black slaves, 6,000 Christian servants for a short time, and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to settle or serve in hope of bettering their condition in a growing country. Yearly, we suppose, there come in of servants about 1,500, of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish; and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years."—*Answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, apud Chalmers*. The numerous importations of servants mentioned by Sir William Berkeley were probably checked by the troubles that preceded and attended *Bacon's Rebellion*. The later importations were more available than the earlier ones; the diseases of the country having diminished in frequency and violence as the woods were progressively cut down; diseases occasioned by the repugnance of the human constitution to novelty of climate were diminished by the lapse of time and the consequent gradual compliance of the bodily frame with the properties of the region. The mortality among the new comers, we learn from Sir William Berkeley, was at first enormous, but had become very trifling prior to 1671.

many forfeitures of property were occasioned, and much judicial controversy produced, by the traffic which aliens in the colonies carried on under the authority of general patents of denization granted to them by the ignorance or inattention of the royal governors. Their pretensions, though quite repugnant to the navigation laws, were supported by the American courts of justice, but uniformly disallowed by the English privy council, which, after repeated decisions in conformity with the principle, that the ordinances of a provincial legislature cannot derogate from the general jurisprudence of the empire, finally prohibited all farther denizations by the provincial governors or assemblies.¹

Far from being mitigated by the lapse of time, the discontents in Virginia were exasperated by the increasing pressure of the commercial restrictions, corresponding with the successive exertions of the English government to promote their more effectual operation. Various additional causes contributed to inflame the displeasure of the colonists; and a considerable native population having now grown up in Virginia, the resentment of these persons was no way abated by the habitual regard and fond remembrance which emigrants retain for the parent state which is also the land of their individual nativity. The defectiveness of their education excluded the influence of literature from acting in this respect as a substitute to experience; and they knew little of England beyond the wrongs which they heard daily imputed to her injustice. It was natural that all the political leaders and reasoners, who either sincerely undertook to demonstrate or factiously endeavoured to magnify these wrongs, should contrast the oppression that followed restored royalty in England with the liberality which the colony had experienced from Oliver Cromwell; and the effect of this suggestion was to associate national prosperity with democratical ideas in the minds of a numerous and increasing party of the Virginian planters.²

The Indian hostilities, after infesting the frontiers, began

¹ Chalmers.

² The partial and contradictory accounts that have been transmitted of the subsequent events bear unhappy testimony to the influence of the distinction that now began to prevail in Virginia between a royalist and a democratical party. The misrepresentations of faction continue to hide and disguise truth, after its passions have ceased to disturb happiness.

now to penetrate into the interior of the province ; and while the colonists were reduced to defend their property at the hazard of their lives, they found it additionally endangered [1673] by the large and improvident grants of land which the king, after the example of his father, yielded with lavish profusion and facility to the solicitations of his favorites. The fate of that parent had warned him to avoid, in general, rather the arrogance that provoked than the injustice that deserved it ; and in granting those applications, without fatiguing himself by any inquiry into their merits, he at once indulged the indolence of his disposition, and exerted a liberality that cost him nothing that he cared for. Many of the royal grants not only were of such exorbitant extent as to be unfavorable to the progress of cultivation, but, from ignorance or inaccuracy in the definition of their boundaries, were so conceived as to include tracts of land that had already been planted and appropriated. Such a complication of exasperating circumstances brought the discontents of the colony to a crisis.

In the beginning of the year 1675, two slight insurrections, which were rather the hasty explosions of popular irritation than the fruits of matured design, were easily suppressed by the governor, but gave significant intimation of the state and the tendency of public feeling in Virginia. In the hope of averting the crisis, and obtaining redress of the more recent grievances which were provoking it, the assembly despatched deputies to England, who, after a tedious negotiation with the king and his ministers, had brought matters to the point of a happy adjustment, and obtained the promise of a royal charter, defining both the constitution and the territory of Virginia, when their expectations were frustrated and the proceedings suspended by intelligence of a formidable rebellion in the colony. A tax, imposed by the assembly to defray the expense of the deputation [1676], increased the discontent which the deputation was intended to remove ; and when the dilatory proceedings of the English ministers, who disdained to allow the intelligence of past or the apprehensions of future insurrection to quicken their diligence, seemed to confirm the assurances of the factious leaders of the colonists that even their last sacrifice was thrown away, the tide of rage and disaffection began again

to swell to the point of rebellion. It did not long wait for additional provocation to excite, or an able leader to impel, its fury. For, to crown the provincial distress, the Indian warfare, which continued to prevail notwithstanding all the governor's attempts to suppress it, now spread out with redoubled extent and fury, and threatened a formidable addition of danger, hardship, and expense.

The Indians were alarmed and irritated by a series of enterprises which the governor promoted for exploring the large and yet unvisited districts adjoining the colonial occupation, and which the savages regarded as a preparatory step to farther encroachments on their domains. Even the popularity of the long tried and magnanimous friend of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, was overcast by the blackness of this cloud of calamities. The spirit and fidelity with which he had adhered to the colony through every variety of fortune, his earnest remonstrances with the English government against the commercial restraints, his generosity in devoting a considerable part of his own private fortune to the improvement and embellishment of the province, and the disinterestedness he had shown in declining, during the unprosperous state of the provincial finances, to accept an addition, proposed by the assembly, to his official emoluments, were disregarded, denied, or forgotten. [1676.] To his age and incapacity were now attributed the burdens of the people and the distractions of the time; and he was loudly accused of wanting alike honesty to resist the tyrannical policy of the mother country, and courage to repel the hostility of the savages.¹ Such ungrateful injustice is rarely, if ever, committed by any people advanced beyond a state of national barbarism, except when the insidious suggestions of factious leaders have imposed on their credulity and fanned their passions into fury. The populace of Holland, when, a few years before this period, they tore in pieces their benefactor, John De Witt, were not only terrified by the progress of their national calamities, but deluded by the profligate artifices of the retainers of the House of Orange. To similar influence (exerted in similar circumstances) were the enraged and mis-

¹ Beverley. Chalmers. Oldmixon (2d edit.). Campbell. Burk.

guided Virginians now exposed from the artifice and ambition of Nathaniel Bacon.

This man was educated to the profession of a lawyer in England ; and only three years had elapsed, since, for some unexplained reason, he emigrated to Virginia. Short as this interval was, it sufficed to advance him to a conspicuous station in the colony, and to illustrate the disposition and talents of a popular leader. The consideration he derived from his legal attainments, and the esteem he acquired by an insinuating address, had procured him already a seat in the council, and the rank of colonel in the provincial militia. But his temper was not accommodated to subordinate office ; and, unfortunately, the distractions of the colony presented to him a sphere of action more congenial to his character and capacity. Young, sanguine, eloquent, and daring, yet artful and ambitious, he presented himself in the assemblies of the discontented planters, and, by his spirited harangues on the grievances under which they labored, he promoted their exasperation and attracted their favor. He was implicated in the abortive insurrection of the preceding year, and had been imprisoned and subsequently pardoned by the governor ; but less affected by the clemency than encouraged by the impunity which he experienced, and sensible that the avenue to legitimate promotion was now for ever closed against him, he determined to unite his lot with the fortune of the malcontent party ; and taking advantage of their present excitation, he once again came forward, and addressed them with artifice which their uncultivated understandings were unable to detect, and with eloquence which their untamed passions rendered quite irresistible. Finding that the sentiments most prevalent with his auditory were the alarm and indignation excited by the Indian ravages, he hastened to strike in with the impressions of which he proposed to lay hold, and loudly charged the governor with neglect or incapacity to exert the vigor that was requisite for the general safety ; and having expatiated on the facility with which the whole Indian race might be exterminated, he exhorted his fellow-colonists to take arms in their own defence, and achieve the deliverance they must no longer expect from any other quarter. So acceptable was this address and the speaker to the temper of the popular

mind, that his exhortation was instantly obeyed, and his main object no less successfully accomplished.

A great multitude hastened to embody themselves for an expedition against the Indians ; and electing Bacon to be their general, committed themselves to his direction. He assured them, in return, that he would never lay down his arms, till he had avenged their sufferings and redressed their wrongs. To give some color of legitimacy to the preëminence he had obtained, and, perhaps, expecting to precipitate matters to the extremity which his interest required that they should speedily reach, he applied to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, and offered to march immediately against the common enemy. Berkeley, suspecting his real designs, thought it prudent to temporize, and try the effect of negotiation ; but he had to deal with a much more practised adept in dissimulation than himself ; and encountered in Bacon a man precautions by his own guile and insincerity against the craft of others, and fully conscious that promptitude and resolute perseverance alone could extricate him with safety or credit from the dangers of his situation. Pressed for an answer, and finding that the applicants were not to be soothed by his conciliating demeanour, Berkeley issued a proclamation, commanding the multitude to disperse under pain of incurring the guilt of rebellion.

Bacon, no more disconcerted by this assumption of vigor than he had been duped by the previous negotiation, instantly marched to Jamestown at the head of six hundred of his followers, and, surrounding the house where the governor and assembly were engaged in deliberation, he demanded the commission which his proceedings and retinue showed how little he either needed or regarded. Berkeley, undismayed by the dangers that environed him, was sensible of his inability to repel the force of the insurgents, and yet disdained to bend his authority before their menacing attitude, or yield to their imperious demands. Confronting, with invincible courage, the men who reproached him with defect of this virtue, he peremptorily commanded them to depart ; and when they refused, he presented his breast to their weapons, and calmly defied their rage. But the council, more considerate of their

own safety, and fearful of driving the multitude to some fatal act of fury, hastily prepared a commission, by which Bacon was appointed captain-general of all the forces of Virginia, and, by dint of earnest entreaty, prevailed with the governor to unite with them in subscribing it. The insurgents, thus far successful, retired in triumph ; and the council no sooner felt themselves delivered from the immediate presence of danger, than, passing from the depth of timidity to the height of presumption, they enacted and published an ordinance annulling the commission they had granted, as having been extorted by force, proclaiming Bacon a rebel, commanding his followers to deliver him up, and summoning the militia to arm in defence of the constitution. They found too little difficulty in persuading the governor to confirm, by his sanction, this indiscreet affectation of an authority which they were totally incapable of supporting. The consequences might have been easily foreseen. Bacon and his associates, flushed with their recent triumph, and incensed at the impotent menace, which they denounced as a base and treacherous breach of compact, returned directly to Jamestown ; and the governor, destitute of any force sufficient to cope with the insurgents, retired across the bay to Accomac on the eastern shore. Some of the counsellors accompanied him thither ; the rest retired to their estates ; the frame of the provincial administration seemed to be dissolved, and Bacon took unresisted possession of the vacant government.

The preëminence which he attained by this vigorous conduct Bacon employed with much address to add strength and reputation to his party. To invest his usurped jurisdiction with the semblance of a legal establishment, he summoned a convention of the principal planters of the province, and prevailed with a numerous body of them to pledge themselves by oath to support his authority and resist his enemies. A declaration or manifesto was published, in the name of this body, setting forth that Sir William Berkeley had wickedly fomented a civil war among the people, and that, after thus violating his trust, he had abdicated the government, to the surprise and confusion of the country ; that General Bacon had raised an army for the public service and with the public approbation ;

that the late governor having, as was reported, abused the ear of the king by falsely representing that the general and his followers were rebels, and pressing his Majesty to send forces to subdue them, the welfare of the colony and their true allegiance to his most sacred Majesty alike required that they should oppose and suppress all forces whatsoever, except those commanded by the general, till the king should be fully informed of the real merits and nature of the case by persons despatched to him by Bacon, to whom, in the interim, all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance. It was remarked by the wise, that this manifesto, which might have been expected to display the genuine source of the revolt, mentioned none of the original causes of quarrel; and hence they justly suspected that the leader of the insurgents entertained personal and ambitious designs, to which he purposed to render the discontents of his followers subservient, which extended beyond the immediate measures in relation to the Indians, and which had already suggested to him a specious pretence for exposing the colony to a war with the forces of the mother country. Yet such was the spirit of the times, and so prompt the sympathy with resistance to every branch of an administration which Charles was daily rendering more odious and suspected, that, when the rebel manifesto was promulgated in England, it found admirers among the people, and even within the walls of that parliament whose injustice formed the only real grievance that Virginia had at present to complain of. Though Bacon designedly omitted to remind his adherents that the conduct of the Indian war was the object for which they had originally intrusted him with military command, it was to this object that his first exertions were actually directed. To redeem his promise and to exercise his troops, he marched at the head of an expedition against the hostile savages, who, rashly awaiting a general engagement, were defeated with a loss which they never were able to repair.

Berkeley, meanwhile, having collected a force from levies among the planters who remained well affected to him, and from the crews of the English shipping on the coasts, prepared to give battle to the army of the usurper; and several sharp encounters ensued between the parties with various suc-

cess. All the horrors of civil war descended on the colony. Jamestown, which already contained several elegant buildings, erected at considerable expense by the governor and the more opulent planters, was reduced to ashes by the insurgents, at the command of Bacon, who judged it a station which he could not safely retain; the estates of the loyalists were pillaged, their friends and relatives seized as hostages, and the richest plantations in the province laid waste. The governor was prompted by his indignation, as well as by the rage of his partisans, to retaliate these extremities, and even to execute some of the insurgents by martial law; and the animosity of both parties was rapidly mounting to a pitch that threatened a war of mutual extermination. The superiority of the insurgent force had hitherto confined the efforts of the loyalists in the field to mere skirmishing engagements; but the tidings of an approaching armament, which the king despatched from England under Sir John Berry to the assistance of the governor, gave promise of a wider range of carnage and desolation. Charles had issued a proclamation [Oct. 1676], declaring Bacon a traitor and the sole promoter of the insurrection; tendering pardon to all his followers who should forsake him, and freedom to all slaves who would assist in suppressing the revolt. However elated the loyalists might be with the intelligence of the approaching succour, the leader of the insurgents was no way dismayed by it; and his influence over his followers was unbounded. Conscious now that his power and his life were indissolubly connected, he determined to encounter whatever force might be sent against him. He was aware, at the same time, of the importance of striking a decisive blow while the advantage of numbers remained with him; and with this view, having enlarged his resources by proclaiming a general forfeiture of the property of all who either opposed his pretensions or even affected neutrality, he was preparing to take the field, when his career was arrested by that Power which can wither in an instant the sinews of abused strength, and arrest the uplifted arm of the most formidable destroyer. Happily for his country, and to the manifest advantage not less of his followers than his adversaries, Bacon unexpectedly sickened and died. [Jan. 1677].

The ascendancy with which this remarkable person had predominated, as the master-spirit of his party, was illustrated by the effect of his death on their sentiments and conduct. The bands of their confederacy seemed to be cut asunder by the loss of their general, nor did any successor even attempt to reunite them ; and their sanguine hopes and resolute adherence to Bacon were succeeded by mutual distrust and universal despondency. Ingram, who had been lieutenant-general, and Walklate, who had been major-general of the insurgent forces, showed some disposition to prolong the struggle by maintaining possession of a stronghold which was occupied by their party ; but after a short treaty with Sir William Berkeley, they consented to surrender it, on condition of receiving a pardon for their offences. The other detachments of the rebel army, finding themselves broken and disunited, afraid to protract a desperate enterprise, and hoping, perhaps, to be included in the indemnity granted to Walklate and Ingram, or at least to experience equal lenity, laid down their arms [1677], and submitted to the governor.

Thus suddenly and providentially was dissipated a tempest that seemed to portend the entire ruin of Virginia. From the man whose evil genius excited and directed its fury, this insurrection has been distinguished by the name of *Bacon's Rebellion*. It placed the colony for seven months in the power of that daring adventurer, involved the inhabitants during all that period in bloodshed and confusion, and was productive of a devastation of property to the extent of at least a hundred thousand pounds.¹ To the mother country it conveyed a lesson which she appears never to have understood, till the loss of her colonies illustrated its meaning, and the consequence of disregarding it. For, after every allowance for the ability and artifice of Bacon, it was manifest that the general discontent and irritation, occasioned by the commercial restrictions, had formed the groundwork of his influence ; and it required little

¹ Beverley. Oldmixon. *Modern Universal History*, XLI. Sir William Keith's *History of Virginia*. Chalmers. Burk. Campbell. Mrs. Aphra Behn celebrated this rebellion in a tragi-comedy, entitled *The Widow Ranter, or the History of Bacon in Virginia*, to which Dryden wrote a prologue. The play was acted unsuccessfully, and afterwards published in 1690. There is a copy of it in the British Museum. It sets historical truth entirely and avowedly at defiance, and is replete with coarse humor and indelicate wit.

sagacity to foresee that those sentiments would be rendered more inveterate and more formidable by the growth of the province, and by the increased connection and sympathy with the other colonial settlements, which the lapse of time and the habitual consciousness of common interests and grievances would infallibly promote. Had Bacon been a more honest and disinterested leader, this lesson would perhaps have been more distinctly unfolded, and the rebellion, it is probable, would not have ended with his life. But, instead of sincerely embracing the cause of his associates, he contrived to render their passions instrumental to the gratification of his own sinister ambition. The assertors of the interests of Virginia were thus converted into the partisans of an individual ; and when his presence and influence were withdrawn, they perceived at once that they were embarked in a contest which to themselves had neither interest nor object.

No sooner were the insurgents disbanded, and the legitimate government restored, than Sir William Berkeley developed the vindictive powers of the law with a rigor more proportioned to the guilt of the rebels and the provocation he had received from them, than akin to the general humanity of his character and the lenity which he had extended to the promoters of former insurrections. But the recent rebellion had produced a scene of outrage and bloodshed to which nothing similar had occurred in the preceding commotions, and which he probably regarded as the reproach and requital of his lenity on those occasions. Refusing to publish the royal proclamation which he now received from England, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms, he caused several of the rebels who were not included in his treaty with Walklate and Ingram to be brought to trial for treason. All who confessed their guilt and implored mercy seem to have been exempted from the extremity of legal rigor ; but of others who abided the issue of a trial, ten were convicted and executed. The number of the guilty, which at first had seemed to betoken their security, served now to aggravate and diffuse the terror of these proceedings, which were at last interrupted by an address from the provincial assembly, beseeching the governor to forbear from the farther infliction of capital punishment. By

this assembly a few of the surviving ringleaders of the insurrection were subjected to fines and disabilities, and Bacon, together with certain of his officers who had perished in the contest, was attainted.

An attainder of the dead seems an arrogant attempt of human power to extend its arm beyond the scene of human life, to invade with its vengeance the inviolable sanctuary of the grave, and to reclaim to the jurisdiction of transient authority and fallible judgment the defenceless being and supposed offender, who has already been removed by the act of divine power to abide the decree of eternal and unerring justice. In England the measure was regarded as an act of sovereignty beyond the competence of a subordinate legislature, and held to be void from defect of power ; but this objection was obviated, and the attainder subsequently reënacted, by a bill to the same effect, which was framed in England, and transmitted under the great seal to the colonial assembly.¹

The tardy aid despatched from England to the defence of the provincial government did not reach Virginia till after the rebellion was suppressed. With the fleet arrived Colonel Jeffreys [April, 1677], appointed by the king to signify the recall and succeed to the office of Sir William Berkeley, who now closed in peace an administration of nearly forty years ; and shortly after, closing his life, may be said to have died in the service of Virginia. This gallant and honorable man was thus spared the mortification of beholding the injustice and im-

¹ *Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia.* Oldmixon. Keith. Chalmers. Burk. Campbell. The account which I have given of the penal proceedings which followed the suppression of the rebellion is derived from a strict examination and comparison of the statements of these and other writers, and coincides entirely with none of them. Except Burk and Campbell (who merely repeats, without vouching for, the statements of Burk), every other writer has declared that Sir William Berkeley punished none of the rebels capitally, and ascribed this forbearance to his having procured their surrender by a promise of general pardon. Burk expressly asserts that Berkeley gave such assurance to the rebels, and charges him with having violated it both by the executions which I have related and by others inflicted by the more summary process of martial law. But an attentive examination of the documents to which he refers has satisfied me that there is no credible evidence of any person having been put to death by martial law, except during the subsistence of the rebellion, or of any promise of pardon having been made to those who were tried and convicted after its suppression. Neither the colonial assembly, in their address against further capital punishments, nor the royal commissioners, in their subsequent charges against the governor, have given any countenance to the suppositions adopted by Burk.

policy with which the royal authority was soon after employed to blacken his fame, and to weaken all those sentiments of loyalty in the colony, which it had been the great object of his wishes to cultivate and cherish. Entertaining all the principles of an old cavalier, endowed with a character well formed to recommend his principles, and presiding in a colony where the prevailing sentiments of the people were for a long time entirely congenial with his own, he had hoped to render Virginia a scene where the loyalty that was languishing in Europe might be renovated by transmigration into a young and growing body politic, and expand to a new and more vigorous maturity. But this was not the destination of the provinces of America. The naked republican principle, that substitutes the respect and approbation of citizens toward their magistrate, in place of the reverence and attachment of subjects to their sovereign, was held by all the cavaliers in utter abhorrence ; and a more favorable specimen of the opposite principle which they embraced, and of that mixed system of opinion and sentiment which it tended to produce, will not easily be found than in the character and conduct of Sir William Berkeley. The courageous regard he demonstrated for his people not only excited their grateful admiration, but recommended to their esteem the generous devotion to his king with which it was in his language and demeanour inseparably blended. When the hopes of the royalists were extinguished in every other quarter of the empire, this governor of an infant province boldly arrayed his scanty forces on the banks of James River, in defence of his people and his principles, against the victorious arms of the most formidable power in Europe ; and afterwards, emerging from retirement, and seconding the popular impulse, he again braved the same unequal contest, and, disowning the authority, defied the forces, of the protectoral government. For many years, his influence in Virginia was unbounded, and his virtues expanded with the growth and the enjoyment of his popularity. But in the close of his administration, — when he saw the efficacy of these virtues impaired, his long labors defeated, and the scene of all his loyal and disinterested service gradually pervaded by discontent and democratical sentiment, and finally defaced and convulsed by rebellion, — his dispo-

sition seemed to derive a tincture from the bitterness of disappointment, and his conduct, both during the continuance and after the suppression of Bacon's rebellion, has been reproached with splenetic impatience and vindictive severity. In happier times, he approved himself a wise legislator, as well as a benevolent and upright magistrate ; and we are informed by the editor of the *Laws of Virginia*, that the most judicious and most popular of them were suggested by Sir William Berkeley. When his death was known, and he was no longer an object of flattery or of fear, the provincial assembly recorded the sentiments which the colony entertained of his conduct in the grateful declaration, " that he had been an excellent and well deserving governor " ; and earnestly recommended his widow to the justice and generosity of the king.¹ The bosom of the king, however, was little accessible to such sentiments ; and his reign was calculated to dispel, instead of confirming, the impressions of cavalier loyalty.

The most remarkable event that distinguished the government of Colonel Jeffreys was the conclusion of the Indian war, which had raged so long, and contributed, with other causes, to the production of the late rebellion, by a treaty which gave universal satisfaction. This, too, was the only act of his administration that was attended with consequences so agreeable. Jeffreys, Sir John Berry, and Colonel Moryson were appointed commissioners to investigate and report the causes of Bacon's rebellion. They commenced their inquiries with an avowed prepossession in favor of the insurgents, and conducted them with the most indecent partiality. The temptation which their office presented to magnify the importance of their labors by new and unexpected discoveries, and to prove, by arraignment of the late administration, that they had not been appointed its censors in vain, contributed, no doubt, to inspire the malevolence and injustice which they displayed in a degree that would otherwise seem quite unaccountable. Instead of indemnifying, or even applauding, they discountenanced the loyalists who had rallied in the time of danger around the provincial government ; and

¹ Chalmers. Preface to Moryson's edition of the *Laws of Virginia*. *Life of Sir William Berkeley*.

having invited all persons who were engaged in the insurrection to come forward and state their grievances without fear, and unequivocally demonstrated the favorable acceptance which such representations might expect, they succeeded in collecting a mass of confused and passionate complaints, which they digested into a report fraught with crimination of Sir William Berkeley and his council, and with insinuations against the honesty and the courage of all the planters who had united with the governor in withstanding the rebels.¹ While their folly or malignity thus tended to rekindle the dissensions of the colonists, their intemperance involved them in a dispute that united all parties against themselves. Finding that the assembly hesitated to comply with a requisition they addressed to it, that all its books and journals should be submitted to their inspection, they seized these records by force, and withdrew them from the clerk who was intrusted with their custody. Incensed at this insult, the assembly demanded satisfaction from Jeffreys ; and when he appealed to the authority of the great seal of England, under which the commissioners acted, they replied to him, in language worthy of the descendants of Englishmen and the parents of Americans, “that such a breach of privilege could not be commanded under the great seal, because they could not find that any king of England had ever done so in former times.” The spirit thus displayed by the assembly appears the more deserving of applause, when we consider that a body of regular troops, the first ever sent to Virginia, were now stationed in the colony, under the command

¹ The memory of Sir William Berkeley was defended against the misrepresentations of the commissioners by his brother, Lord Berkeley, (Chalmers,) and his fame suffered no diminution from their report. Burk, who has evidently conceived a strong prejudice against Berkeley, expresses a different opinion. He asserts, that Berkeley, on his return to England, found that his conduct was disapproved by the king. But Oldmixon, whose authority on a point like this is entitled to the highest respect, declares that Berkeley before his death received an assurance of the esteem and approbation of his sovereign.

During the disputes that preceded the war of independence, it was common for the writers who espoused the cause of America to aggravate the blame of the British government by exaggerating the previous loyalty of the Americans. But this representation has ceased to please in America ; and some of her late writers have preferably devoted their labor and ingenuity to the illustration of the antiquity of her republican spirit. Burk, in particular, has magnified beyond their due importance the first manifestations of discontent and democratical feeling in Virginia ; and, for the credit both of his representations and of his countrymen, has eagerly adopted every factious charge and injurious supposition with respect to Sir William Berkeley.

of Sir John Berry. Informed of this proceeding, the king, in strains that rival the arrogance of his father and grandfather, commanded the governor "to signify his Majesty's indignation at language so seditious, and to give the leaders marks of the royal displeasure." Berry and Moryson soon after returned to England, leaving the colony in a state of ferment, and all parties disgusted and disappointed.

To the other causes of discontent was added the burden of supporting the soldiery, who, receiving no remittances of pay from England, indemnified themselves by their exactions from the planters. The impatience created by this treatment, however, was mitigated by the mild and prudent conduct of an aged officer and venerable man, Sir Henry Chicheley, to whom, as lieutenant-governor, the administration devolved, on the death of Jeffreys [1678] ; and as, during his presidency, some of the large and improvident donations of land by the crown, that had been so much complained of, were revoked, and certain other grievances corrected, a short gleam of prosperity was shed on the colony, and an interval of comparative repose gave the people time to breathe, before the resumption of tyranny with a violence which was to endure till the British Revolution.¹

It was not to royal generosity or benevolence that the colonists were indebted for the lenient administration of Sir Henry Chicheley. Charles had some time before conferred the government of the province on Lord Culpepper, who, though very willing to accept this important office, showed so little readiness to perform the duties of it, that it was not till he had been reprimanded by the king for his neglect that he made his voyage to Virginia. [May, 1680.] His administration was conducted with the same arbitrary spirit that the royal government had now begun to indulge without control in the mother country. Having wrested from the assembly the nomination of its own most confidential officer, the secretary who composed its journals ; having abolished the power it had hitherto exercised of entertaining appeals from the decisions of the provincial judicatories ; having accumulated a considerable sum of

¹ Chalmers.

money by official pillage ; and having guarded his tyranny from complaint by a proclamation, that interdicted, under the severest penalties, all disrespectful speeches against the governor or his administration, — he returned [Aug. 1680], after a very short stay in Virginia, to dissipate the spoils of the province in the luxury of England. Yet on this ignoble lord did the king confer the commission of governor for life, and a salary twice as large as the emoluments of Sir William Berkeley.

The irritation created by these proceedings sharpened the sense of the hardships which the colonists were now enduring from the depressed price of tobacco ; and the public impatience exploded in a tumultuary attempt to destroy all the new tobacco plantations that threatened to increase the depression of price by multiplying still farther the quantities of produce. [May, 1682.] The insurrection might have proceeded to very serious extremities, if the prudence and activity of Sir Henry Chicheley had not again been exerted to compose the public discontent and restore the peace of the colony. To any mind influenced by liberal justice, or susceptible of humane impressions, this slight and short-lived insurrection was strongly recommended to indulgent consideration. It was but a momentary expression of popular impatience created by extreme suffering ; and the earnest, though ineffectual, addresses by which the assembly had recently solicited from the king a prohibition of the increase of tobacco plantations both suggested and seemed to sanction the object to which the violence of the rioters was directed. But to the king it appeared in the light of an outrage to his dignity, which imperiously demanded a severe, vindictive retribution ; and Lord Culpepper, again obeying the royal mandate to repair to Virginia, caused a number of the insurgents to be tried for high treason, and by a series of bloody executions impressed that mute terror which tyrants denominate tranquillity. Having thus enforced a submission not more propitious to the colony than the ferment which attended his former departure, Lord Culpepper again set sail for England, where he was immediately put in confinement for returning without leave ; and, on a charge of misappropriating the provincial revenues, was shortly after arraigned before

a jury, and in consequence of their verdict deprived of his commission.¹

In displacing this nobleman, it was the injury done to himself, and not the wrongs of the colony, that Charles intended to redress. The last exertion of his royal authority, which Virginia experienced, was the appointment of a successor to Culpepper, in Lord Effingham [Aug. 1683], whose character was very little if at all superior, and whom, among other instructions, the king expressly commanded to suffer no person within the colony to employ a printing-press on any occasion or pretence whatsoever. Along with the new governor was sent a frigate, which was appointed to be stationed on the coast with the view of compelling a stricter execution of the Navigation Act than this obnoxious measure had yet been able to obtain.²

On the death of Charles the Second, his successor, James, was proclaimed [Feb. 1685] in Virginia with demonstrations of joy, indicating less the attachment of the colonists to the person of their new sovereign, than that impatient desire with which men, under the pressure of hardship and annoyance, are ready to hail any change in their prospects or situation. Acclamation far more warmly expressive of gladness and hope had attended the commencement of the preceding reign ; and if the hopes that were now awakened were more moderate, they were not on that account the less fallacious. The colonists soon learned with regret, that, in his first parliament, James had procured the imposition of a tax on the consumption of tobacco in England ; and in imploring the suspension of this tax, which threatened still farther to obstruct the sale of the only vendible production of their soil, they descended to an abjectness of entreaty which produced no other effect than to embitter their disappointment with the consciousness of humiliating and yet fruitless prostration. Though the assembly judged it expedient to present an address of felicitation to the king on the defeat of Monmouth's invasion of England, the colonists found an opportunity of indulging very different sentiments on that occasion, in the kindness with which they treated

¹ Beverley. Chalmers.

² Chalmers.

some of the insurgents, whom James, from a satiety of bloodshed, which he termed the plenitude of royal mercy, appointed to be transported to the American plantations ; and even the assembly paid no regard to the signification of the royal desire that they should frame a law to prevent these unfortunate persons from redeeming themselves from the servitude to which they were consigned. This conduct, however, of the colonists and their assembly, in so far as it was not prompted by simple humanity, expressed merely their dissatisfaction with the king's treatment of themselves, and denoted no participation of their wishes or views in the designs of Monmouth. The general discontent was increased by the personal character of the governor through whom the rays of royal influence were transmitted. Lord Effingham, like his predecessor, ingrafted the baseness of a sordid disposition on the severity of an arbitrary and despotic administration. He refused to convoke the provincial assembly. He instituted a court of chancery, in which he himself presided as judge ; and, besides multiplying and enhancing the fees attached to his own peculiar functions, he condescended to share with clerks the meaner perquisites of subordinate office. For some time he contrived to stifle the remonstrances which his extortions produced, by the infliction of arbitrary imprisonment and other tyrannical severities ; but at length the public displeasure became so general and uncontrollable, that he found it impossible to prevent the complaints of the colony from being carried to England, — for which country he in consequence resolved himself to embark, in order to be present at his own arraignment. [1688.] He was accompanied by Colonel Ludwell, whom the assembly appointed their agent to advocate the complaints of his conduct and urge his removal from office.¹

But before the governor and his accuser arrived in England, the Revolution, which the tyranny of James provoked in that country, had transferred the allegiance of all parties to new sovereigns. The Virginians, though they readily acquiesced in the change, appear to have surveyed with very little emotion an event which coincided with none of their anticipations, and

¹ Beverley. Oldmixon. Chalmers.

to the production of which their concurrence had not been demanded. Whatever might be its remoter consequences, its immediate effect was forcibly to remind them of their own insignificance, as the appendage of a distant empire, whose political changes they were fated to follow, but unable to control. The most deep-seated and lasting grievances under which they labored, having proceeded from the English nation and parliament, were such as the present event gave no promise of alleviating. Their immediate complaints were to be submitted to sovereigns of whom they knew absolutely nothing ; and their late experience had diminished their trust in princes, and discouraged hopes of advantage from changes of royalty. The coolness, then, with which the Virginians are said to have regarded the great event of the British Revolution, so far from implying that their minds were not touched with a concern for freedom, may, with much greater probability, be referred to the ardor with which they cherished this generous principle, and the deliberate reflection which they combined with it.¹ In some respects, too, the policy of the new government that arose in the parent state was but ill formed to convey to them more satisfactory impressions of the change that had taken place, or to invite their sympathy with the feelings of that portion of their fellow-subjects by whose exertions it was accomplished.

Notwithstanding the representations of Colonel Ludwell (who himself was gratified with the appointment of governor of Carolina), King William, disinclined and perhaps unable to dismiss those officers of his predecessor who were willing to transfer their personal adherence and official service to himself, retained Lord Effingham in the government of Virginia. This nobleman, however, did not again return to the province ; and as long as his commission was suffered to endure, the administration was conducted by a deputy-governor. He was removed in the year 1692, and replaced by a successor still more obnoxious to the colonists, Sir Edmund Andros, whose tyrannical conduct, prior to the Revolution, in the government

¹ Colonel Quarry's *Memorial to the Lords of Trade*, in the year 1703, on the state of the American provinces, represents the Virginian planters as a numerous and wealthy race, deeply infected with "republican notions and principles."

of other American provinces, more justly merited the brand of legal punishment and disgrace than continuance of official trust and dignity. If such appointments remind us that the English ministry was still composed of many of the persons who had dispensed patronage in the preceding reigns, they may also in part be accounted for by other considerations. Of the officers who were thus undeservedly retained, some pretended to great local experience and official ability. This was particularly the case of Sir Edmund Andros, whose administration eventually proved highly beneficial to Virginia. And they excused the arbitrary proceedings which they had conducted in the former reigns, by pleading the authority of the sovereign whose commands they had obeyed, — a plea which always finds favor with a king, when not opposed to wrongs which he deems personal to himself. Moreover, the complaints of the colonists were not always accurate; for anger is a more copious than discriminating accuser. Justice suffered, as usual, from the defect of temper and moderation with which it was invoked; and the guilty artfully availed themselves of the inconsiderate passion by which their accusers were transported, in order to defeat or discredit the charges which they preferred. The insolence and severity, for example, that pervaded the whole of Lord Effingham's government, had elicited many complaints, in which the accusers either neglected or were unable to discriminate between the legality of official acts and the tyrannical demeanour or malignant motives of the party by whom they were performed. Accordingly, while some of the remonstrances which the Virginians transmitted to England by Colonel Ludwell were favorably received and approved by the British government, there were others that produced only explanations, by which the assembly was given to understand that it had mistaken certain points of English constitutional law.¹ In the infancy of a free state, collisions and disputes not unfrequently arise from conflicting pretensions of different, but coördinate, branches of its municipal constitu-

¹ Beverley. Chalmers. One of the grievances complained of by the assembly of Virginia was, that Lord Effingham, having by a proclamation declared the royal dissent to an act of assembly which repealed a former law, gave notice that this law was now in force. This was erroneously deemed by the assembly an act of legislation.

tion, before time has given consistence to the whole structure, and those relative limits, which abstract reason finds it difficult to prescribe to the respective parts, have been determined by the convenience of practice and the authority of precedent.

The revolution of the British government, both in its immediate and its remote operation, was attended with consequences highly beneficial to Virginia, in common with all the existing provinces of America. Under the patronage and by the pecuniary aid of William and Mary, the college which had been projected in the reign of James the First was established.¹ The political institutions, under which the manly character of Englishmen is formed, were already planted in the soil to which so large a portion of their race had migrated; the literary and religious institutions, by which that character is refined and elevated, were now, in like manner, transported to Virginia; and a fountain opened within her own territory, which promised to dispense to her children the streams of science, physical, moral, and religious.

But the most important and decisive influence which the British Revolution exercised on the condition of the colonies, consisted in the abridgment and almost entire abolition of their dependence on the personal character of the king. A conservative principle was infused by that great event into the main trunk of the British constitution in England, and into all the filial shoots that had issued from the parent stem, and germinated in the settlements abroad. The continuity of existence and supremacy of power, which the parliament acquired in Britain, extended the constitutional superintendence of this national assembly to every subordinate organ of popular rights; and if it oppressed the trade, it protected the chartered liberties, of the provinces of America. The king still continued

¹ Beverley. Seymour, the English attorney-general, having received the royal commands to prepare the charter of the college, which was to be accompanied with a grant of two thousand pounds, remonstrated against this liberality, protesting that the nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for more important purposes, and that he did not see the slightest occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair, the commissary for the Bishop of London in Virginia, represented to him that the object of the institution was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the gospel, and begged Mr. Attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved, as well as the people of England. "*Souls!*" said he; "*damn your souls! make tobacco.*" — Franklin's *Correspondence*.

to appoint the governors of Virginia and of some of the other settlements ; and men of sordid dispositions and of feeble or profligate character were frequently the objects of this branch of the royal patronage. But the powers of these officers were in general circumscribed and distinctly defined ; and the authority of the provincial assemblies was able to restrain, and even overawe, the most vigorous administration of the executive functionaries. Whatever evil influence a wicked or artful governor might exert on the domestic harmony of the people, or on their opinions of the royal prerogative which he administered, he could commit no serious inroad on the constitution of the province over which he presided. From this period a tolerably equal and impartial policy distinguished the British dominion over the American provinces ; the diminution of the personal influence of the sovereign effaced in a great degree the inequalities of treatment previously occasioned by the different degrees of favor with which he might happen to regard the religious or political sentiments of the inhabitants of the respective states ; and consequently extinguished, or at least greatly abated, the jealousies which the several colonial communities had hitherto entertained of each other. A farther abatement of these mutual jealousies was produced by the religious toleration which the provincial governments were henceforward compelled to observe. Even when intolerant statutes were permitted to subsist, their execution was generally disallowed ; and the principles cherished in one province were no longer exposed to persecution in another.

We must now transfer our inquiry to the rise of the other colonies in North America which were founded antecedently to the British Revolution, and trace their separate progress till that era. But before our undivided attention be withdrawn from this, the earliest of the settlements, it seems proper to subjoin a few particulars of its civil and domestic condition at the period at which we have now arrived.

Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances to which the colony was exposed in a greater or less degree ever since the Restoration, the number of its inhabitants had continued to increase. The deputies to Charles the Second, in 1675, represented the population as amounting, at that time, to 50,000

persons.¹ If their statement were not exaggerated (as it probably was), we must suppose that Bacon's Rebellion and the subsequent tyranny gave a very severe check to this rapid increase ; for there is no reason to suppose that the colony contained a much greater number than 50,000 at the Revolution of 1688. From a table appended to the first edition of Beverley's *History*, it appears, that, in 1703, the population of Virginia (exclusive of 800 French refugees conveyed thither by King William) amounted to 60,606 souls. Of this number, 20,023 were *tithables* (a denomination implying liability to a poll tax, and embracing all white men above the age of sixteen, and all negro slaves, male and female, above that age), and 35,583 were children of both races, and white women. The most intelligent and accomplished of the modern historians of Virginia has conjectured, that, at the period of the British Revolution, one half of the population of the province consisted of slaves.² Many circumstances contributed to give free scope to the increase of the provincial population, and to counterbalance the influence of commercial restraint and despotic government. The healthfulness of the country had greatly improved ; and the diminution of disease not only closed a drain from which the population had severely suffered, but rendered the general strength more available to the general support. The use of tobacco now prevailed extensively in Europe ; and the diminution of its price was compensated by the increased demand for the commodity. In 1671, it was computed, that, on an average, eighty vessels came annually from England and Ireland to Virginia for tobacco. In 1675, there were exported from Virginia above 23,000 hogsheads of tobacco, and in the following year upwards of 25,000. In this latter year, the customs on tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, collected in England, amounted to £135,000.³ Sir William Berkeley rates the number of the militia, in the year 1671, at nearly 8,000, and adds, that the people were too poor to afford the equipment of cavalry. In the year 1680, the militia amounted to 8568, of whom 1300 served as caval-

¹ Chalmers.

² Beverley. Burk.

³ Chalmers. In the year 1604, the whole customs of England amounted only to £127,000, of which £110,000 was collected in the port of London.—Hume.

ry.¹ Our estimate, however, of the increased wealth which the cavalry establishment seems to indicate, must be abated by the consideration of the increased exertions which the Indian war and Bacon's Rebellion had rendered necessary. In the year 1703, we learn from Beverley that the militia amounted to 9522, of whom 2363 were light horse, and the remainder foot and dragoons ; and that, as few of the planters were then destitute of horses, it was judged that the greater part of them might, if necessary, be converted into dragoons.² Every freeman (a denomination embracing all the inhabitants, except the slaves and the indented servants), from sixteen to sixty years of age, was enrolled in the militia ; and as the people were much accustomed to shoot in the woods, they were universally expert in the use of firearms.³ The militia was commanded by the governor, whose salary was £ 1000 a year, till the appointment of Lord Culpepper, who, on the plea of peerage, procured it to be doubled.⁴

The twelve provincial counsellors, as well as the governor, were appointed by the king ; and a salary of £ 350, assigned to the council, was divided in proportion to the official services which the members respectively performed. In all matters of importance, the concurrence of the council with the governor was indispensably requisite. The provincial assembly was composed of the counsellors, who termed themselves the Upper House, and claimed privileges correspondent with those exercised by the English House of Lords ; and the burgesses, who were elected by the freemen of the respective counties, and performed the functions of the House of Commons, receiving wages proportioned to their services, and derived, like all the other provincial salaries, from provincial taxation. A poll tax long continued to be the only domestic tribute imposed on the Virginians ; and subjection to this tax inferred the qualification of a freeman. The poorer classes were reconciled to the poll tax by this identification of its burden with the enjoyment of the political franchise, and by the specious application of a maxim which became current in the colony, that *the lives and industry of the citizens were objects*

¹ Chalmers.² Beverley.³ Beverley (edit. 1722).⁴ Beverley.

of greater value than lands and houses. Until the year 1680, the several branches of the assembly had collectively formed one deliberative body ; but in that year the counsellors separated themselves from the burgesses, and assumed a distinct political existence. In conjunction with the governor, the counsellors formed the supreme tribunal of the province ; from whose judgments, however, in all cases involving more than £ 300, an appeal was permitted to the king and privy council of England. In 1681, the province contained twenty counties ; in 1703, it contained twenty-five. A quitrent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land was paid by the planters to the crown.¹

In the year 1688, the province contained forty-eight parishes, embracing upwards of 200,000 acres of appropriated land. A church was built in every parish, and a house and glebe assigned to the clergyman, along with a stipend, which was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco. This mode of remuneration obviously tends to give a secular cast to the life and character of the ministers, and to entangle them with concerns remote from their spiritual duties. The equalization which it proposes is deceptive ; the different degrees of fertility of different parishes rendering the burden unequal to the people, and the varying quality of the tobacco produced in various soils making the remuneration unequal to the clergymen. The privilege of collating to ecclesiastical benefices, prior to the British Revolution, belonged to the governor, but was generally usurped or controlled by the parishioners. After the British Revolution, it was grasped by the hands of parochial vestries, which, though originally elected by the people, came, in process of time, to exercise the power of supplying vacancies in their numbers by their own appointment. The bishop of London was accounted the diocesan of the province ; and a resident commissary (generally a member of the council), appointed by that prelate, presided over the clergy, with the power of convoking, censuring, and even suspending them from the exercise of their ministry. The doctrines and rites of the church of England were established by law ; attendance at

¹ Chalmers. Burk.

divine worship in the parochial churches, and participation in the sacraments of the church, were enjoined under heavy penalties ; the preaching of dissenters, and participation in the rites and worship of dissenting congregations, were prohibited, and subjected to various degrees of punishment. There was one bloody statute, which menaced Quakers returning from banishment with the punishment of death ; but no execution ever took place in consequence of this law, and it was repealed soon after the Revolution of 1688. The other intolerant laws were not then abolished, but they were no longer strictly or generally executed ; and though the statute-book continued to forbid the promulgation of tenets and performance of worship dissenting from the established model, the prohibition was little regarded, and a practical liberty of conscience was considerably realized. In 1688, a great majority of the people belonged to the established church. Other opinions and practices, however, began to arise, and were doubtless promoted by the influence of the free schools, of which a great many were founded and endowed soon after that period ; and the provincial government, being restrained from executing the intolerant laws against dissenters, endeavoured to cherish the ecclesiastical establishment by heaping temporal advantages upon its ministers. This policy produced its usual fruits, and generated in the state clergy a spirit and character so odiously contrasted, and so inadequate to cope, with the zeal and diligence of dissenting teachers stimulated by the most powerful motives both temporal and spiritual, that at the era of the American Revolution two thirds of the inhabitants of Virginia had become dissenters from the episcopal church, and were obnoxious, on that account, to the ban of their own municipal law.¹

Of every just and humane system of laws one main object should be to protect the weak against the strong, and to temper and correct, instead of promoting and perpetuating, the inequality

¹ *Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia.* Beverley. Burnaby's *Travels through the Middle Settlements of America.* Chalmers. *Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.* From the *Journal* of Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker, it appears that many of his fellow-sectaries were peaceably and happily established in Virginia before the end of the seventeenth century. Among these, he mentions one Porter, who (in the year 1698), at the age of ninety-two, had a daughter two years old. Porter died at the age of a hundred and seven, full of days, wisdom, and piety, leaving seventy descendants in the province.

ties of social condition created from time to time by inequalities of human strength, skill, success, or industry. This wise and benevolent principle must be sacrificed, to a considerable extent, in the code of every country where slavery is admitted. By the laws of Virginia, all persons arriving voluntarily or involuntarily in the colony by sea or land, not having been Christians in their native country, were subjected to slavery, even though they might be converted to Christianity after their arrival. A slave accused of a capital crime was remitted to the judgment of commissioners named by the governor, without the intervention of a jury ; and if the punishment of death were inflicted, indemnification to the extent of the pecuniary value of the slave was awarded from the provincial treasury to the master. This last regulation has prevailed in every State into which negro slavery has gained admission ; notwithstanding its manifest tendency to injure the public by relaxing the domestic vigilance of masters, and its injustice to the slaves in weakening the slight but sole security of humane treatment which they derive from the pecuniary interest of their owners in the preservation of their lives. In the year 1669, it was enacted that the death of a slave occasioned by the correction of a master should not be accounted felony ; “ since it cannot be presumed,” says the act, “ that premeditated malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate.” But reason and experience alike refute this pernicious sophistry, which ascribes to absolute power a tendency to repress human irascibility, and accounts avarice and selfishness sufficient motives and pledges of justice, humanity, and moderation. Neither infidels nor negroes, mulattoes nor Indians, were allowed to purchase Christian white servants ; and if any person, having Christian white servants, should marry an infidel, or a negro, mulatto, or Indian, all such servants were made free. Any free white person intermarrying with a negro or mulatto, and any minister celebrating such marriage, were punished with fine and imprisonment.

It will excite the merriment of a satirist, the disgust of a philosopher, and the indignant concern of a Christian, to see, combined with such inhuman and tyrannical laws, the strictest injunctions of the worship of that great Teacher of charity and

humility who commanded his worshippers to *honor all men* ; together with many solemn denunciations and penal enactments against *travelling on Sunday, profane cursing, and profanely getting drunk*. Justices of the peace were commanded to hear and determine the complaints of all servants, *except slaves*, against their masters. Various regulations were established for securing mild and equitable treatment to indented servants ; at the close of their indentures, they received from their masters each a musket, a small sum of money, and a quantity of corn ; but if, during the currency of their term of service, they presumed to marry without consent of their master or mistress, they were punished with an additional year of servitude. To divert the planters from employing female indented servants in agricultural labor, it was decreed that all white women exempted from such labor should be also exempted from poll tax, but that any of them who might be employed in rustic toil should forthwith be enrolled in the list of tithables. All persons riotously assembling, to the number of eight or more, for the purpose of destroying tobacco, incurred the guilt of treason. Every person, not being a servant or slave, committing adultery or fornication, was for the greater offence fined one thousand, and for the lesser, five hundred, pounds of tobacco. Women convicted of slander were adjudged to be ducked, in default of their husbands' consenting to redeem them from the penal immersion at the cost of a pecuniary mulct. There being no inns in the country, strangers were entertained at the houses of the inhabitants, and were frequently involved in lawsuits by the exorbitant claims of their hosts for indemnification of the expenses of their mercenary hospitality ; for remedy whereof, it was ordained, that an inhabitant, neglecting in such circumstances to forewarn his guest and to make an express compact with him, should be reputed to have entertained him from mere courtesy and benevolence.¹ All the foregoing laws continued in force long after the British Revolution.

It appears from the first of these statutes, that Indians visiting the territories of the State were liable to be enslaved by the colonists ; and in Jefferson's statistical account of Vir-

¹ *Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia*. Beverley. Burk.

ginia, it is admitted that the practice of subjecting those savages to slavery did at one time actually prevail.¹ But with the Indian tribes situated in their immediate vicinity, and comprehended in the pacification negotiated by Colonel Jeffreys, the colonists maintained relations more approaching to friendship and equality. The Indians paid, indeed, in conformity with the treaty of peace, an annual tribute of beaver-skins to the provincial government.² But their territories were ascertained by the treaty, and secured to them by the guaranty of the provincial laws; and every wrong they might sustain at the hands of any of the colonists was punished in the same manner as if it had been done to an Englishman.³ By the aid of a donation from that distinguished religious philosopher, Robert Boyle, an attempt was made to render the institution, which, from its founders, has been called William and Mary College, subservient to the instruction of the Indians. Some young persons, belonging to the friendly tribes, received at this seminary the rudiments of civil and religious education; and the colonists, sensible of the advantages they derived from possessing in the persons of such pupils the most valuable hostages of the pacific demeanour of their parents, prevailed with some of the more remote nations of the Indians to send a few of their children to drink of the same fountain of knowledge. But as the pupils were restored to their parent tribes, when they attained the age that fitted them for hunting and warlike exercises, it is not likely that the course of collegiate instruction which they pursued produced any wide or permanent impression on the character of the Indians, or made any adequate compensation for the destructive vices and diseases which the Europeans were unhappily much more successful in imparting.⁴

Attempts to convert barbarians very frequently disappoint their promoters; and not those persons only who have assisted

¹ *Notes on Virginia.*

² Beverley.

³ *Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia.* "That the lands of this country were taken from the Indians by conquest is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find, in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchases which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on farther search. The upper country, we know, has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form." — *Notes on Virginia.*

⁴ Beverley (edit. 1722). In citing this author, it is the edition of 1705 that I refer to, when the other is not expressly named.

the undertaking from merely secular ends, but those also, who, truly regarding the divine glory in the end, disregard, at least in some measure, the divine agency in the means. As an instrument of temporal improvement merely, and civilization, the preaching of the gospel will ever be found to disappoint all those who have no higher or ulterior views. In a civilized and Christian land, the great bulk of the people are Christians merely in name ; reputation, convenience, and habit are the sources of their religious denomination ; an early and habitual familiarity with mysterious doctrine evades the difficulty of reasonable assent to it ; vices are so disguised, that the testimonies of Christian preachers against them often miss their aim ; and a professed devotedness to the service of piety and the pursuit of spiritual good is easily reconciled with, and esteemed a decent livery of, more real and substantial devotion to all that is worldly, selfish, and sensual. But among heathens and savages, a convert to Christianity must change his style of life, overcome his habits, renounce his opinions, and forfeit his reputation ; and none, or at least very few, become professors, except from the influence of real conviction, more or less lasting and profound. Those who remain unconverted, if they be honestly addressed by the missionary preachers, are incensed at the testimony against their evil deeds and sullied nature ; and the conduct of many professing Christians among their civilized neighbours too often contributes to mislead and confirm them in error. But this topic will derive an ampler illustration from occurrences that relate to others of the North American States than the early history of Virginia is fitted to supply.

Literature was but very slightly cultivated in Virginia. There was not at this period, nor for many years after, a single bookseller's shop in the colony.¹ Yet a history of Virginia was written some years after by Beverley, a native of the province, who had taken an active part in public affairs prior to the

¹ The literature of North America was at this time monopolized almost entirely by New England. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Boston contained five printing-offices and many booksellers' shops, there was but one bookseller's shop in New York, and not one in Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. Neal's *History of New England*. Even in the provincial towns of the parent state booksellers' shops were very rare at this period. Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

Revolution of 1688. The first edition of this work in 1705, and a later edition in 1722, were published in England. Beverley is a brief and somewhat agreeable annalist, and has appended to his narrative of events an account of the institutions of the province, and of the manners of the colonial and aboriginal inhabitants. He is chargeable with great ignorance and incorrectness in those parts of his story that embrace events occurring in England, or elsewhere beyond the immediate precincts of Virginia. Only the initial letters of his name appear on the title-page of his book, — whence Oldmixon was led into the mistake of supposing his name to have been *Bullock*; and in some of the critical catalogues of Germany he has received the erroneous appellation of *Bird*.¹ A much more enlarged and elaborate history of Virginia (but, unfortunately, carried no further down than the year 1624) was written at a later period by Stith, also a native of the province, and one of the governors of William and Mary College. Stith is a candid, accurate historian, and accomplished scholar; tediously minute in relating the debates in the Court of Proprietors of the Virginia Company, and their disputes with the king; but generally impressive and interesting. A manly and liberal spirit pervades every page of his work, which was first published at Williamsburg in 1747.

Beverley warmly extols the hospitality of his countrymen; a commendation which the peculiarity of their condition renders sufficiently credible, though the preamble of one of their laws, which we have already noticed, demonstrates that its application was by no means universal. He reproaches them with indolence, which he ascribes to their residence in scattered dwellings, and their destitution of that collected life which promotes mutual coöperation and competition, invigorates industry, and nourishes the spirit of adventurous enterprise. It may be ascribed, also, to the influence of slavery in fostering pride and discrediting labor. A life like that of the first Vir-

¹ Warden, a late American writer, has repeated this error, and described as the production of Bird what in reality was the first edition of Beverley's work. There really was a history of Virginia written and published by a Colonel Bird, in the beginning of the eighteenth century; but I have never been able to meet with it. Oldmixon (in his Preface) gives some account of the author, and refers to his work among the other materials which he himself had made use of.

ginian colonists, remote from crowded haunts, unoccupied by a multitude and variety of objects and purposes, sequestered from the intelligence of passing events, and yet connected, by origin, remembrance, and interest, with a distant and distinguished realm, is the life of those to whom the company of strangers is peculiarly acceptable. All the other circumstances of such a lot contribute to the promotion of hospitable habits. As for many of their hours the inhabitants can find no more interesting occupation, so of much of their superfluous produce they can find no more profitable use, than the entertainment of visitors.¹

It was the remarkable and fortunate peculiarity of their local situation, that prevented a people so early devoted to commerce as the Virginians from congregating in large towns and forming marts of trade. The same peculiarity characterized that portion of their original territory which was subsequently formed into the separate province of Maryland; and there, too, it was attended with similar effects. The whole of that vast region is pervaded by numerous streams, that impart fertility to the land, and carry the produce they have promoted to the great highway of nations. From the Bay of Chesapeake, where all those streams unite, the greater number of them afford an extensive navigation into the interior of the country; and the colonists, perceiving that in order to embark the produce of their land they needed not to quit their plantations, but might load the merchant ships at the doors of their country warehouses, dispersed themselves² along the banks of the rivers, and united the healthful felicity of rural life with the advantages of commerce. Except the small towns of Williamsburg, which succeeded Jamestown as the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, no cities grew up for a very long period in either of these provinces. This social condition proved highly favorable to those two great sources of national happiness, — good morals, and the facility of gaining by industry a moderate competence and a respectable station

¹ "Mr. Jefferson told me, that in his father's time it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road for the purpose of amicably waylaying and bringing to their houses any travellers who might chance to pass." — Hall's *Travels in Canada and the United States*.

² "But, as the bees which have no hive collect no honey, the commerce which was thus dispersed accumulated no wealth." — Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*.

in society. The convicts who were transported to the colony, finding none of the opportunities of confederacy, pillage, and concealment, that large towns afford, either returned to Europe at the expiration of their periods of service, or, impressed with the advantages which the country so liberally tendered to honest toil and sobriety of manners, they melted into the mass of humble and respectable free laborers. To this important class of society the virtues of industry and economy were recommended by prizes both greater and nearer than any other social community ever before presented. Labor was so valuable, and land so cheap, that a very few years of diligent exertion could promote the laborer to the condition of a land-owner ;¹ no one needed to despair of a competence ; and none found it practicable to amass enormous wealth. Manual work, no longer the badge of hopeless poverty, was respected as the certain passport to independence ; nor was there among the free population any distinction of rank which industry and virtue were unable to surmount. A constant and general progression, accomplished without scramble or peril, gave a quiet alacrity to life ; and fellow-feeling was not obstructed, nor insolence and servility engendered, by numerous instances of a wide inequality of condition. They were, and are, undoubtedly, a happy people.

Two causes, however, have contributed, in this and others of the American provinces, to impede the operation and abridge the influence of circumstances so favorable to happiness and virtue. Of these, by far the most important is the institution of domestic slavery ; a practice fraught with incalculable evil to the morals, manners, and felicity of every country into which it has gained admission. The slaves are reduced to a state of misery and degradation ; to a state which experience has pronounced so destructive to virtue, that, in many languages, the condition of a slave and the character of a thief are expressed by the same word. The experience of every age has confirmed the maxim of Homer, that *the day which*

¹ "I remember the time when five pounds were left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish he lived in ; and it lay nine years before the executors could find one poor enough to be entitled to any part of this legacy ; and at last it was all given to one old woman. So that this may in truth be termed the best poor man's country in the world." — Beverley.

makes man a slave takes half his worth away. The masters are justly loaded with the guilt of all the wretchedness and worthlessness which the condition of slavery inevitably infers ; every mind is tainted with the evil which it engenders and displays, and sustains an abatement either of happiness or virtue. Every master of a slave, whether he term himself citizen or subject, is a monarch endowed with more uncontrolled authority than any sovereign in Europe enjoys ; and every country where slavery is admitted, whether it call itself kingdom or republic, is a country subject to the dominion of tyrants. Nay, the more liberal its political constitution, the more severe in general is its system of domestic tyranny ; and the experience of every age has verified the Grecian proverb, that *none are so completely enslaved as the slaves of the free.* Human character is as much corrupted and depraved by the arrogance of domination as by the depression of servitude ; and slavery is a state wherein *one man ruleth over another to his own hurt.* The same wisdom which assigned to man his duties adapted them to the development of his understanding and the refinement of his sensibility. This adaptation is particularly visible in the duties that regulate the mutual intercourse of men. To violate therein the law of kindness and the principles of equity is to warp the understanding,¹ as well as to corrupt the heart ; to lower the dignity of rational, and the happiness of sensible beings. There is a perpetual reciprocation of evil between a master and his slaves. His injustice consigns them to their servile state ; and the evil qualities that this condition engenders in them tend continually to provoke his irascibility. His power inflicts their degradation ; and their degradation at once provokes and facilitates the excesses of his power. In proportion to the rigor of their treatment is the hatred which he inspires in them, and which, reacting on its own dire cause, imparts a wider scope and keener edge to his cruelty. Hence the commerce between master and slave tends to stimulate and exhibit all that is odious and revolting in human passion and conduct. The delicate susceptibility of women is exposed to the impression of this spectacle, and the imitative

¹ See Note IV., at the end of the volume.

disposition of children exercised amidst its continual display. In the picture that Juvenal has drawn of the toilet of a Roman lady we behold a striking illustration of the influence of domestic slavery in corrupting even the gentler sex with the direst cruelty ; and that the picture was far from being overcharged may unhappily be deduced from the delineations, still more odious, that present themselves in the pages of modern travellers in North America and the West Indies. Female slaves, regarding the freemen as a superior race of beings, lose alike the virtues and the rights of women in their intercourse with them, and introduce into rural life modes of vice even more disgraceful and corruptive than those which are generated by the temptations of profligate cities. The freemen, habituated to consider the great majority of the females with whom they associate as an inferior race, are consequently exposed to an influence hostile to those sentiments and manners which constitute the moral grace and symbol of civilized life ; and proportionally descend to the level of that barbarous state in which women are regarded merely as instruments of drudgery or ministers of voluptuousness. Every description of work that is committed to slaves is performed with as much neglect and indolence as they dare to indulge, and is so degraded in common estimation, that the poorest freeman disdains to undertake it except when he is working for himself. White servants in America have been always distinguished for a jealous impatience of their position, and a reluctant and imperfect regard to the will of their masters. As the numbers of the slaves are multiplied, the industry of the free is thus repressed by the extension of slave labor ; and the safety of the state is endangered by the strength of a body of internal enemies ready to conspire against its tranquillity or to join its first invader.¹ The number of the slaves and gladiators contributed

¹ "I tremble for my country," says Jefferson, in his observations on the slave population of this province, "when I reflect that God is just ; that his justice cannot sleep for ever ; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events ; that it may become probable by supernatural interference ! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." *Notes on Virginia*. So early as the year 1687, we are told that "a plan of insurrection of the blacks was at this time discovered in the Northern Neck, just in time to prevent its explosion." Burk. Seneca relates

to the downfall of Rome ; and, indeed, every body politic, compounded of parts so heterogeneous as freemen and slaves, plainly contains within itself a principle of progressive disease and corruption. Such a mixture tends also to pervert and confound the moral sentiments of all mankind, and to degrade the value of those free institutions which are seen to form a canopy for the shelter of domestic tyranny,¹ to mock one portion of the people with such liberty and dignity as jailers enjoy, and to load all the rest with such fetters as only felons should wear.

Of all the forms under which slavery has ever appeared in the world, negro slavery is the most odious and mischievous. The difference of color aggravates the distinction of condition between the master and the slave ; and the mutual hatred and fear generated between individuals by this accidental relation are extended to natural distinctions of bodily feature, and perpetuated between whole races of men. Long as well as grievous are the consequences of guilt and injustice. The first introduction of slavery into a country plants a canker, of which the entire malignity is not perceived till in an after age, when it has attained an extent, which, concurring with the attendant train of prejudices and antipathies, renders its extirpation exceedingly difficult. This consideration, without tending to diminish our abhorrence of a system so fraught with mischief and danger, mitigates the severity of our censure on those to whom the system, already matured by long continuance and fortified by inveterate prejudice, has unhappily descended. And even with regard to the race who first introduced it we shall not fulfil the duty of fellow-men, if we omit to consider the apologies which may reasonably be supposed to have deluded their conscience and understanding, and veiled from their view the wickedness they committed and the misery they prepared. The negroes first brought to Vir-

that it was once proposed at Rome to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar dress ; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers. This information is conveyed to the negroes by their color ; and this color being always a mark of contempt, even those negroes, who become free in countries where their race is generally enslaved, continue allied, both by the most irritating feelings, and by the sympathy they must entertain for men of the same complexion, with all those who remain in a state of bondage.

¹ *To dream of freedom in his slave's embrace*—is represented with bitter satire and melancholy truth by the Irish bard, Moore, as the felicity of many an American planter.

ginia were enslaved before they came there, and by the purchase of the colonists were delivered from the hold of a slave-ship and the peculiar and notorious cruelty of the Dutch. Some little good might thus at first seem to result from the commission of evil. When the slaves were few in number, and consequently incapable of awakening public jealousy and alarm, they appear to have been kindly treated ;¹ and their masters perhaps intended to emancipate them at that *convenient season* for adjusting the accounts of interest and conscience, which every added year and every addition to their numbers tended still farther to postpone. Even at a later period and in altered circumstances, numerous instances have been known of what is most inappropriately termed the *humane* treatment of negro slaves by masters, who, freely dispensing physical comforts and indulgences to them, and carefully barring them from the knowledge that would waken aspiration for a higher moral condition, appeal to their unmanly contentment with degradation as a proof that slavery may be a happy state.²

Negro slavery lingered long in the settlements of the Puritans in New England, and of the Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania ; although in none of these States did the climate, or the soil and its appropriate culture, suggest the same temptations to this inhumanity which presented themselves in the southern quarters of America. Las Casas, so distinguished by the warmth of his philanthropy, first suggested its introduction into Mexico and Peru ; George Fox, the most intrepid and enthusiastic of reformers, demanded no more of his followers than a mitigation of its rigor in Barbadoes ; and the illustrious philosopher, John Locke, renowned also as the champion of religious and political freedom, introduced an express sanction of it into the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. Georgia is the only one of the North American States in which slavery was expressly disallowed by the fundamental

¹ The treatment of slaves at Rome, latterly distinguished by the most enormous cruelty, was originally kind and humane. Plutarch, *Life of Coriolanus*. In the reign of the Emperor Claudius, it was found necessary to pass a law forbidding masters to kill their slaves on account of age or infirmity. The original admission of the Hebrews into Egypt was an act of benevolence ; and it was only when they had waxed numerically strong that they experienced the rigors of bondage.

² One of the best pictures I have ever met with of the actual operation of negro slavery occurs in Pinckard's *Notes on the West Indies*.

laws ; but these laws were soon repealed ; and in none of the other States has slavery proved a more rigorous and oppressive yoke than in Georgia. Considerations such as these are calculated to increase at once our indulgence for mankind, and our abhorrence of that insidious and formidable mischief which has so signally baffled the penetration of the wise, and triumphed over the benevolence of the humane.

The other cause which has been alluded to, as operating unfavorably on the prosperity of Virginia, is the inordinate cultivation of tobacco. As long as Virginia and Maryland were the only provinces of North America where this commodity was produced, their inhabitants devoted themselves almost exclusively to a culture which is attended with much inconvenience to the persons engaged in it, and no small disadvantage to their country even when moderately pursued. It requires extremely fatiguing labor from the cultivators, and exhausts the fertility of the ground ; and, as little food of any kind is raised on the tobacco plantations, the men and cattle employed on them are badly fed, and the soil is progressively impoverished.¹ This disadvantage was long experienced in Virginia ; but has been diminished by the introduction into the markets of Europe of the tobacco produce of territories more recently subjected to cultivation.²

¹ Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*. ² Priest's *Travels in America*. Warden.

BOOK II.

FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS

OF THE

NEW ENGLAND STATES,

TILL THE YEAR

1698.

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BOOK II.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Attempts of the Plymouth Company to colonize the northern Coasts of America. — Popham establishes a Colony at Fort Saint George. — Sufferings and Return of the Colonists. — Captain Smith's Voyage and Survey of the Country — which is named New England. — His ineffectual Attempt to conduct a Colony thither. — The Company relinquish the Design of colonizing New England. — History and Character of the Puritans. — Rise of the Brownists or Independents. — A Congregation of Independents retire to Holland — they resolve to settle in America — their Negotiation with King James — they arrive in Massachusetts — and found New Plymouth. — Hardships — and Virtue of the Colonists. — Their civil Institutions. — Community of Property. — Increase of civil and ecclesiastical Tyranny in England. — Project of a new Colony in Massachusetts. — Salem built. — Charter of Massachusetts Bay obtained from Charles the First by an Association of Puritans. — Embarkation of the Emigrants — Arrival at Salem. — Their ecclesiastical Institutions. — Two Persons banished from the Colony for Schism. — Intolerance of some of the Puritans.

WHEN James the First of England gave his sanction to the project of colonizing the vast district of North America which was comprehended at that time [1606] under the name of Virginia, he made a partition, which we have already remarked, of the territory between two trading companies, and established the residence of the one at London, and of the other at Plymouth. If the object of this partition was to diminish the inconvenience of monopoly, and diffuse the benefit of colonial relations more extensively in England, the means were ill adapted to the end ; and eventually the operation of this act of policy was far from corresponding with its design. The resources of the adventurers, who had already prepared to undertake the enterprise of colonization, were divided so un-

equally, and yet so much to the disadvantage of all parties, that even the more powerful company was barely enabled to maintain a feeble and precarious settlement in Virginia ; while the weaker, without ability to accomplish the purpose of its institution, obtained little more than the privilege of debarring the rest of the world from attempting it. We have seen that the southern colony, — though promoted by a corporation which reckoned among its members some of the richest and most considerable persons in the realm, and enjoyed the advantage of being situated in a town then engrossing almost all the commercial wealth of England, — even with the aid of these favorable circumstances, made but slow and laborious advances to a secure establishment. The Plymouth Company possessing much narrower resources and a less advantageous situation, its efforts were proportionally more feeble and inadequate.

The most conspicuous members of the Plymouth Company were Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth Fort, and Sir John Gilbert, nephew of that distinguished adventurer who has already engaged our notice as the first obtainer of a patent of colonization from Queen Elizabeth, and the earliest conductor of emigrants to America. Animated by the zeal of these men, and especially of Popham, who assumed the principal direction of their measures, the Plymouth Company, shortly after their association, despatched a small vessel to inspect their territories ; but soon received the mortifying intelligence of its capture by the Spaniards, who still pretended right to exclude every other people from the navigation of the American seas. The chief justice and his friends, however, were too much bent on the prosecution of their purpose to be deterred by this disaster. At his own expense, Popham equipped and despatched another vessel to resume the survey ; and having received a favorable report of the appearance of the country, he availed himself of the impression produced by the tidings to raise a sufficient supply of men and money for the formation of a colony. [May, 1607.] Under the command of his brother, Henry Popham, and of Raleigh Gilbert, brother of Sir John, a hundred emigrants, embarking in two vessels, repaired to the territory of what was still called Northern Virginia ; and took

possession of a piece of ground near the River Sagadahoc, where they built a stronghold and named it Fort Saint George. The district where they established themselves was rocky and barren ; and their provisions were so scanty, that they were obliged, soon after their arrival, to send back to England all but forty-five of their number. The winter proved extremely severe, and confined this small remnant to their miserable dwelling, and a helpless contemplation of the dreary waste that surrounded it. Disease, the offspring of scarcity and hardship, augmented the general gloom ; and before the return of spring, several of the adventurers, and among others their president, Henry Popham, had sunk into the grave. With the spring [1608], arrived a vessel laden with supplies from England ; but the intelligence that accompanied these supplies more than counterbalanced the satisfaction they afforded ; for the colonists were now informed of the deaths of Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, the most powerful of their patrons and most active of their benefactors. Their resolution was completely subdued by so many misfortunes ; and, unanimously exclaiming against longer continuance in those dismal scenes, they forsook the settlement and returned to their native land, which they filled with the most disheartening accounts of the soil and climate of Northern Virginia.¹ The American historians have been careful to note that this disastrous expedition originated with the judge, who (odious and despicable in every part of his professional career) had, three years before, presided with the most scandalous injustice at the trial of Raleigh, and condemned to the death of a traitor the man to whom both England and America were so greatly beholden.

The miscarriage of this colonial experiment, and the evil report raised against the scene where it had been attempted, deterred the Plymouth Company for some time from any farther exertion to plant a settlement in Northern Virginia, and produced an impression on the minds of the people of England very unfavorable to emigration to that territory. For several years, the operations of the company were confined to a few

¹ Smith's *History of Virginia, New England, &c.* Stith's *History of Virginia.* Neal's *History of New England.* Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts.*

fishing voyages to Cape Cod, and a traffic in peltry and oil with the natives. At length their prospects were cheered by a gleam of better fortune ; and the introduction of Captain Smith—already known to us by his guardianship of the infant province of Virginia—into their service, seemed to betoken more vigorous and successful enterprise. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and some other leading members of the Plymouth Company, justly appreciating the genius and merit of this man, were fain to engage his valuable services, which the London Company had unworthily neglected. [1614.] Six years after the abandonment of the settlement at Sagadahoc, two vessels were despatched, under the command of Captain Smith and Captain Hunt, on a voyage of trade and discovery to the Plymouth Company's territories. Smith, having concluded his traffic with the natives, left his crew engaged in fishing, and, accompanied by only eight men, travelled into the interior of the country, surveyed its condition, explored with care and diligence the whole coast from Cape Cod to Penobscot, and composed a map in which its features were accurately delineated. On his return to England, he presented his map, with an account of his travels and observations, to Prince Charles, who was so much pleased with the description of the country, that he bestowed on it the name of New England, which it has ever since retained.

The successful voyage of Captain Smith, and the favorable account that he gave of the territory, though they contributed not a little to animate the spirit of commercial adventure, could not overcome the general reluctance to a permanent settlement in this region, which the misfortunes of the first colonists had created in England. The impediments to a colonial establishment in this quarter of America, besides, were greatly increased by the conduct of Hunt, who had been associated with Smith in the late voyage. That sordid and profligate man, unwilling that the benefit of the existing narrow traffic with the company's territories, which was exclusively shared by himself and a few others who were aware of its advantages, should be more generally diffused by the formation of a colony, resolved to defeat the design by embroiling his countrymen with the natives ; and for this purpose, having enticed a num-

ber of these people on board his ship, he set sail with them for Malaga, where he had been ordered to touch on his homeward voyage, and sold them for slaves to the Spaniards. The company, indignant at his wickedness, instantly dismissed him from their service ; but his mischievous purpose was accomplished ; and the next vessel that returned from New England brought intelligence of the vindictive hostilities of the savages. Undismayed by all these difficulties and dangers, Smith determined to make an effort for the colonization of the northern territory ; and having communicated a portion of his own resolute hope and spirit to some of the leading patentees, he was enabled, by their assistance, to equip a small squadron, and set sail at the head of a band of emigrants for New England. [1615.] Thus far could energy prevail ; but in a struggle with fate, farther advancement was impracticable ; and Smith, who had now accomplished all that man could do, was destined to experience that all was unavailing. The voyage was one uninterrupted scene of disaster. After encountering a violent tempest, by which the vessels had nearly perished, and escaping more than once from the attacks of pirates, Smith was made prisoner by the commander of a French fleet, who mistook or pretended to mistake him for Captain Argal, and charged him with the guilt of the piratical enterprise which Argal had conducted in the preceding year against Port Royal.¹ On this unjust charge, Smith was separated from his crew, and detained long in captivity. It was happy for himself and for mankind that he lived to return to his country and write the history of his travels, instead of reaching New England, where his blood would probably have stained the land which his genius and virtue have contributed to illustrate. Several years afterwards [1619], the Plymouth Company, having discovered that an Indian, named Squanto, one of the persons kidnapped by Hunt, had escaped from the Spaniards and found his way to Britain, acquitted themselves to his satisfaction of the injury he had suffered, enriched him with valuable gifts, and sent him back to New England along with a small expedition commanded by one Dormer, who was directed to avail

¹ Book I., Chap. II., *ante*.

himself of Squanto's assistance in regaining the friendship of the Indians. But although Squanto earnestly labored to pacify his abused countrymen, and assured them that Hunt's treachery had been condemned and punished in England, they would hearken to no suggestion that forbade the gratification of their burning revenge, and, watching a favorable opportunity, attacked and dangerously wounded Dormer and several of his party, who, escaping with difficulty from the hostile region, left Squanto behind to urge at more leisure and with better success his topics of apology and conciliation. Disgusted by so many disappointments, the company laid aside all thoughts of establishing colonies in New England. An insignificant traffic bounded their own adventures ; and they exercised no farther dominion over the territory than the distribution of small portions of the northern quarter of it to private adventurers, who occupied them in summer as mercantile factories or victualling stations for the use of vessels resorting thither for trade.¹

We have sufficient assurance that the course of this world is not governed by chance ; and that the series of events which it exhibits is regulated by divine ordinance, and adapted to purposes, which, from their transcendent wisdom and infinite range, often elude the conceptive grasp of created capacity. As it could not, then, be without high design, so it seems to have been for no common object, that discomfiture was thus entailed on the counsels of princes, the schemes of the wise, and the efforts of the brave. It was for no ordinary people that the land was reserved, and of no common qualities or vulgar superiority that it was appointed the prize. New England was the destined asylum of oppressed piety and virtue ;² and its colonization, denied to the pretensions of greatness and the efforts of might, was reserved for persons whom the great and mighty despised for their insignificance and persecuted for their integrity. The recent growth of the Virginian colony, and the repeated attempts to form a settlement in New England, naturally attracted to this quarter the eyes of men who felt little reluctance to abandon a country, where, for conscience's sake, they had already incurred the loss of temporal

¹ Smith. Neal.

² "Jupiter illa piæ secrevit littora genti." Horace.

ease and enjoyment ; whom persecution had fortified to the endurance of hardship, and piety had taught to despise it. It was at this juncture accordingly, that the project of colonizing New England was undertaken by the Puritans ; a class of men of whose origin, sentiments, and previous history it is proper that we here subjoin some account.

Of all the national churches of Europe, which, at the era of the Reformation, renounced the doctrine and revolted from the dominion of the see of Rome, there was none in which the origin of the separation was so discreditable, or the proceedings to which it immediately gave rise so unreasonable and inequitable, as the church of England.¹ This arose partly from the circumstance of the alteration in this church having mainly originated with the temporal magistrate, and partly from the character of the individuals by whom the interposition of magisterial authority was exerted. In the Palatinate, in Brandenburg, Holland, Geneva, and Scotland, where the reform proceeded from the general conviction, the doctrine and constitution of the national church corresponded with the religious sentiments of the people. The Biblical Christianity taught by Calvin and Luther (with circumstantial varieties, occasioned by variety of human capacity, sensibility, and attainment) superseded the traditional dogmas of the church of Rome ; and the primitive simplicity of the Presbyterian administration (with proportionate varieties, of similar origin) superseded the pagantry of her ceremonial and the pomp of her constitution. In England, the Reformation originating from a different source, its institutions received a tincture from qualities proportionally different. The same haughty and imperious disposition, that prompted Henry the Eighth to abolish the authority of the church of Rome in his dominions, regulated all his views and conduct in constructing a substitute for the abrogated system. Abetted by a crew of servile dependents and sordid nobles, whom he enriched with the spoils of the plundered monasteries,

¹ " The work, which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest. Sprung from brutal passion, nurtured by selfish policy, the Reformation in England displayed little of what had in other countries distinguished it, unflinching and unsparing devotion, boldness of speech, and singleness of eye." — *Edinburgh Review*.

and by a compliant House of Commons, whose profession of faith veered about with every variation of the royal creed, he neither felt nor affected the slightest respect for the sentiments of the mass of the people, a portion of his subjects to whose petitions he once answered, by a public proclamation, that they were "but brutes and inexperienced folk," and as unfit to advise him as blind men were to judge of colors.¹ His object was to substitute himself and his successors as heads of the church, in place of the pope; and for the maintenance of this usurped dominion, he retained, both in the ceremonies of worship and the constitution of the clerical order, a great deal of the machinery which his predecessor in the supremacy had found useful. The unbridled vehemence of his temper detracted somewhat from the policy of his devices, and greatly disguised their aspect as a politic system by that show of good faith and sincerity which accompanied all his actions, and which was but the natural result of sincere and impetuous selfishness, and of a presumptuous and undoubting conviction of the superiority of his own understanding and the infallibility of its dictates.² While he rigidly denied the right of private judgment to his subjects, his own incessant and imperious exercise of this right continually tempted them to partake the satisfaction it seemed to afford him; and the frequent variations of the creeds he promulgated at once excited a spirit of speculation akin to his own, and practically refuted the only pretence that could recommend or entitle his judgment to the implicit assent of fallible men. The pope, expressly maintaining, that he, in virtue of his sacred office, could never be in the wrong, was disabled from correcting either his own errors or those bequeathed to him by his predecessors. Henry, merely pretending to the privilege of being always in the right, defeated this pretension by the variety and inconsistency of the systems to which he applied it. While he insisted on retaining

¹ Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry the Eighth*.

² The public disputation which he held with one of his subjects, the noble-minded and unfortunate Lambert, who denied the doctrine of the real presence, was, perhaps, regarded at the time as an act of admirable zeal and most generous condescension. It might have merited this praise, if the horrid death by which he revenged the impotence of his logic did not prove it to have been an overflowing of arrogance and vain-glory.

much of the peculiar doctrine of the church of Rome, he attacked, in its infallibility, a tenet not only important in itself, but the sole sanction and foundation of a great many others. Notwithstanding his desire to restrain it, — nay, promoted, indeed, by some part of his own conduct, — a spirit of religious inquiry began to arise among the multitude of professors who blindly or interestedly had followed the fortunes and the fluctuations of the royal creed ; and the knowledge of divine truth, combined with a growing regard for simplicity of divine worship, arising first in the higher classes, spread downwards through the successive grades of society in this and the following reigns. The administration of inquisitorial oaths, and the infliction, in various instances, of decapitation, torture, and burning, for the crime of heresy, during Henry's reign, demonstrate how fully he embraced the character as well as the pretensions of the haughtiest pontiffs that ever filled the Romish see,¹ and how ineffectually he labored to impose his own heterogeneous system of opinions on the understandings of his subjects. Even in his lifetime, the Protestant doctrines had spread far beyond the limits of any of the peculiar creeds which he adopted and promulgated ; and in their illegitimate extent made numerous proselytes in his court and kingdom. The propagation of them was aided by the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, which he vainly endeavoured to prevent, and which enabled his people to imbibe religious knowledge, unstinted and unadulterated, from its everlasting fountains. The open profession of those illicit opinions was in many instances repressed by the terror of his inflexible cruelty, and by the influence over his measures which his lay and clerical courtiers found it easy to obtain by feigning implicit submission to his capricious and impetuous temper.² The temptations which these men were exposed to proved fatal, in some instances, to their integrity ; and several of them (even the vaunted Cranmer) concurred, though reluctantly, in punishing by a cruel death the public avowal of sentiments which they secretly cherished in their own breasts.

By the death of Henry the Eighth his Protestant subjects

¹ One of his laws (31 Henry VIII. Cap: 14) bears the presumptuous title of "An act for *abolishing diversity of opinions* in certain articles concerning the Christian religion."

² Lord Herbert.

were released from the necessity of farther dissimulation. In the reign of his son, Edward the Sixth, the Catholic doctrines were wholly expunged from the national creed, and the fundamental articles of the Protestant faith recognized and established by law. As, among other practices of the preceding reign, the absurd and tyrannical device of promoting uniformity of faith and worship by persecution was still pursued,¹ the influence of temporal fear and favor contributed, no doubt, to encumber the Protestant church with many reluctant and hypocritical professors. In the hope of reconciling the English nation as extensively as possible to the system which they established, the ministers of Edward preserved not only the ecclesiastical constitution which Henry had retained, but as much of the ancient ceremonial of worship as they judged likely to gratify the taste and predilections of minds that still hankered after Catholic pageantry. They rather complied in this respect with the prevalent temper and disposition of the people, than indulged their own sentiments or followed out their principles ; and plainly insinuated their opinion, that, whenever the public mind was sufficiently prepared for it, a farther reformation should be introduced into the establishment, by inserting a prayer to this purpose in the liturgy.² But, in the exercise of their temporizing policy, the rulers of the English reformed church encountered a spirit of resistance, originating in the Protestant body itself. During the late reign, the disaffection that had been cherished in secret towards the national church was not confined to the doctrines savoring of Popery, which she retained, and which many Protestants connected in their opinion and esteem with the ceremonial rites and clerical habits that had for ages been their inveterate associate and distinctive livery. With their enmity to the doctrines of the Romish church, they combined an aversion to those ceremonies which her ministers had too often rendered subservient to imposture ; which seemed to owe their survivance in the national system to the same cloud of error and superstition that had long sheltered so much doctrinal heresy ; and which diverted the mind from that spiritual worship expressly claimed for the Most High in the Scriptures of truth.

¹ 2 & 3 Edward VI. Chap. I. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. Rymer.

² Neal.

These sentiments, which were subsequently developed and ripened into the doctrines of the Puritans, had already taken possession of the minds of some of the English Protestants ; but their operation was yet comparatively feeble and partial. One of the most remarkable manifestations of their influence that have been transmitted to us was afforded by Bishop Hooper, who, in the reign of Edward, refused to be consecrated to his office in the superstitious habits (as he deemed them) appropriated by the church to the episcopal order. The Protestant opinions of this prelate had rendered him an exile from England during the latter part of the preceding reign, and his Puritan sentiments were confirmed by the conversation of the Presbyterian teachers with whom he associated during his residence abroad. Cranmer and Ridley, who were afterwards his fellow-sufferers under the persecution of Mary, resorted to arguments, threats, entreaties, and imprisonment, in order to overcome Hooper's objections ; and it was not without great difficulty and reluctance that his rigid spirit condescended to terminate the dispute by a compromise.¹ The sentiments, which had thus received the sanction of a man distinguished no less by the purity and elevation of his character than by the eminence of his station in the church, continued to manifest themselves throughout the short reign of Edward ; and there was scarcely a rite of the established worship, or an article of ecclesiastical apparel, that escaped impugnation and contentious discussion.² The defenders of the controverted practices (or at least the more enlightened of this party) did not pretend that they were of divine appointment, or in themselves of essential importance. They maintained that they were in themselves inoffensive, and that by long establishment and inveterate association they had taken possession of the reverence of the people, and contributed to attach their affections to the national worship. They admitted, that, as useless and exotical appendages, it was desirable that time and reason should gradually obliterate such practices ; but insisted that it would be both unwise and illiberal to abolish them abruptly, and at the risk of unhinging the important sentiments with

¹ Burnet. Heylin's *History of the Reformation*.

² Strype.

which they had accidentally connected themselves. This reasoning was very unsatisfactory to the Puritans, who rejected such temporizing policy as the counsel of lukewarm piety and worldly wisdom, and regarded with abhorrence the mixture of superstitious attractions with the motives to that which should be entirely a reasonable service ;¹ and whatever weight the arguments of the prevailing party may be considered to possess, they certainly cannot justify the violent imposition of observances, which their own patrons regarded as indifferent, on persons who deemed them sinful and pernicious. The sentiments of the Puritans, whether supported or not by superior force of reason, were overborne by the force of superior numbers, and might perhaps have gradually died away, if the reign of Edward had been farther prolonged, or his sceptre been transmitted to a Protestant successor. But the reign of Mary was destined at once to purify the Protestant body by separating the true and sound members from the false or formal professors, and to radicate every Protestant sentiment by exposing it to the fiery test of tyrannical rage and persecution.

The administration of this queen was productive of events that tended to enliven and extend the Puritan sentiments, and at the same time to animate the opposition of some of their adversaries. During the heat of her bloody persecution, many of the English Protestants forsook their country, and sought refuge in the Protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. There, in regulating for themselves the forms and ordinances of divine worship, their ancient disputes naturally recurred, and were exasperated by the approach of the two parties to an equality of numbers that never before subsisted between them, and protracted by the utter want of a spirit of mutual compliance, and the absence of any tribunal from which an authoritative decision could be obtained. The Puritans beheld with pleasure in the continental churches the establishment of a constitution and ritual which had been the object of their own warm approbation and earnest desire ; and they either composed for themselves a formula of religious association on a similar model, or entered into communion with the churches

¹ Strype.

established in the places where they resided. Their opponents, on the other hand, clung more firmly than ever to their ancient practices ; refused to surrender any one of the institutions of the faith, for the sake of which they had forsaken their country ; and plumed themselves on reproducing, amidst the desolation of their church at home, an entire and accurate model of her ordinances in the scene of their exile. Both parties were willing to have united in church-fellowship with each other, if either could have yielded in the dispute concerning forms of office, habits, and ceremonies. But though each considered itself strongest in faith, neither felt disposed on that account to succumb to what it deemed the infirmities of the other ; and though united in the great fundamental points of Christian belief, and associated by the common calamity that rendered them fellow-exiles in a foreign land, their fruitless controversies separated them more widely than they had ever been before, and inflamed them with mutual dislike and animosity.¹ On the death of Mary, both parties returned to England ; the one joyfully expecting to see their ancient style of worship restored ; the other more firmly wedded to their Puritan sentiments by the opportunity they had obtained of freely indulging them, and entertaining (in common with many who had remained at home) an increased antipathy to the habits and ceremonies which the recent ascendancy and measures of Catholic bigots forcibly associated with the odious features of superstitious delusion and tyrannic cruelty.

The views, of which the Puritans expected the accomplishment from the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, were seconded by the disposition of not a few even of their opponents among the leading Protestant churchmen who had weathered the storm at home. Several of the most distinguished persons of this class expressed the strongest reluctance, in restoring the Protestant constitution, to interweave with its fundamental canons any subordinate or merely ceremonial regulations that might be offensive to men endeared to them by their common calamity, and so recently associated with them as confessors not merely for the forms but for the very substance

¹ Neal.

of the Christian religion. Some of the Puritans, no doubt, were stiffly bent on reducing the model of the church to a strict conformity with their own peculiar sentiments and standard of propriety ; and some of their opponents were as stoutly resolved to prohibit and suppress every trace of Puritan practice.¹ The majority, however, as well as the leading members of both parties, were sincerely desirous to promote an accommodation on the principle of mutual forbearance ; and willingly agreed that the disputed habits and ceremonies should be retained in the church as observances merely of a discretionary and indifferent nature, not to be controverted by the one party nor enforced by the other, but left to be confirmed or abolished, extended or qualified, by the silent progress of sentiment and opinion.² But these wise and candid concessions were frustrated by the views and temper of the queen ; whose authority soon defaced the fair prospect that had arisen of concord and happiness, and involved the people committed to her care in a long and widening scene of strife, malevolence, and misery.

Elizabeth inherited the headstrong and arrogant disposition of her father, and his taste for splendid pageantry. And though she was educated with her brother Edward, and her understanding had received a strong tincture of Protestant opinion, her sentiments inclined her, with manifest bias, in favor of the rites, discipline, and even doctrine of the Catholics ; of every thing, in short, that could lend an imposing aspect to the ecclesiastical establishment of which she was the supreme head, and extend the dominion which she was resolved to maintain over the clergy. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains for preaching in defence of the Real Presence, and rebuked another for mentioning with little reverence the Catholic notion of an inherent virtue in the symbol of the cross.³ She desired to make the clergy priests, and not preachers ; discouraged their sermons ; and would have interdicted them from marriage, had she not been restrained by the remonstrances of her minister, Lord Burleigh.⁴ Disregarding the wishes and entreaties both of Churchmen and Puritans, she restored King

Neal. ² Strype's *Life of Parker*. Neal. ³ Heylin. ⁴ Strype.

Edward's constitutions, with no other alteration than the omission of a few passages in the liturgy which were offensive to the Catholics ; and caused a law to be framed, commanding, under the penalties of fine, imprisonment, and deprivation of ministerial office, a strict uniformity of religious worship.¹ This was the first step in a line of policy which the church of England has had deep and lasting cause to deplore, and which, by compelling thousands of her best and ablest ministers reluctantly to forsake her communion, afflicted her with a decay of internal piety, of which the traces continued to be visible after the lapse of many generations.

But this law was for some time neither strictly nor generally executed. The queen could not at once find a sufficient number of persons fitted to sustain the dignity of episcopal elevation, and yet willing to become the instruments of her arbitrary designs ; nor could all her efforts for a while excite general strife and ill-will among men, of whom so many, though differing from each other on subordinate points, had but lately been united by community of sentiment and suffering in the noblest cause that can interest human hearts. Her first bench of bishops were not only eager to clear themselves of the reproach of having composed or approved the existing laws,² but, by a general forbearance to exact compliance with them, enabled the Puritan ministers and the practices of Puritanism to obtain a considerable footing in the church. And though she reprimanded the primate, Parker, for his negligence, and at length stimulated him to the exertion of some rigor in the execution of the Act of Uniformity, it was far from obtaining general prevalence ; and by various acts of connivance on the one side, and prudent reserve or simulated compliance on the other, the Puritans were enabled to enjoy the semblance of toleration. Their tranquillity was promoted by the accession of Grindall to the primacy. The liberal principles and humane disposition of this man revolted against the tyrannical injustice which he was required to administer ; and at the expense of his own

¹ Neal.

² In their letters to their friends at home and abroad, they not only reprobate the obnoxious institutions, but promise to withstand them "till they be sent back to hell, from whence they came to sow discord, confusion, and vain formality in the church." Burnet. Neal.

temporal liberty and dignity (for the queen disgraced and imprisoned him), he prolonged the duration of lenient policy and the peace of the church.¹

At length, on the death of Grindall, the primacy was bestowed on Whitgift, a man of severe temper, a rigid votary of the established system of ecclesiastical discipline and policy, and an implacable adversary of the Puritans, against whom he had repeatedly directed the hostility of his pen, and now gladly wielded a more formidable weapon. From this period, all the force of the law was spent in uninterrupted efforts to harass the persons or violate the consciences of the Puritans. A great number of Puritan ministers were deprived of their benefices; and many of their parishioners were punished by fine and imprisonment for attending their ministry in the fields and woods, where they continued to exercise it. Vainly were the exertions of wise and good men employed to move the queen, ere yet it was too late, to recede from her fatal policy, and stifle the flame of discord which she was essaying to kindle among her people. Burleigh and Walsingham earnestly interceded for the suspended ministers; urging the indulgence due to their conscientious scruples, the humane concern to which their families were entitled, and the respect which sound policy demanded for the sentiments of that numerous portion of the people by whom they were revered and beloved. The House of Commons, too, showed a desire to procure some relief for the oppressed Puritans. But Whitgift flung himself on his knees before the queen, and implored her to uphold the sinking church, and to admit no alteration of its ritual that would authorize men to say *that she had maintained an error*.² His humiliation, most probably, was prompted rather by flattery than fear; for Elizabeth had shown no inclination whatever to mitigate an imperious policy so congenial to her own character.

The exaction of implicit deference to her judgment, and of rigid conformity to the ecclesiastical model she had preferred,

¹ Strype's *Life of Grindall*. Neal.

² Walton, a great admirer of this prelate, thus characterizes his policy with the queen. "By justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa, 'Agrippa, believest thou? I know that thou believest,' he wrought himself into so great a degree of favor with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world and of glory in that into which they are now both entered." — *Life of Hooker*.

was the result of her early and stubborn choice, and pursued with her usual firmness and vigor of determination. She overbore all opposition ; and the primate and his associates being encouraged to proceed in the course which they had commenced, their zeal, enlarging as it flowed, soon transported them beyond all bounds of decency and humanity. They were empowered to establish a court of commissioners for the detection of non-conformity, which even the privy council complained of as a copy of the detested tribunal of the Inquisition. By the assistance of this tyrannical engine, they gave freer course to the severities of the law ; and having rendered integrity hazardous, they made prudence unavailing to the Puritans. In vain were they reminded of the maxim of the earliest Christian council, which recommended the imposition of no greater burden on the people than the observation of duties undeniably necessary and of primary importance. For the purpose of imposing a load of ceremonies, which they could not pretend to characterize as essential requisites to salvation, they committed such oppression as rendered the ceremonies themselves tenfold more obnoxious to those persons to whom even indulgent treatment would have failed to recommend them ; and roused the opposition of others, who would willingly have complied with the ceremonial ordinances, if they had been proposed to them merely as matters of convenient observance, but revolted from them, as fraught with danger and mischief, when it was attempted to bind them on the conscience, and place them on a level with the most sacred obligations.

The chief fruits of this increased severity were the enkindling of much additional zeal and fervor in the minds of the Puritans, the multiplication of their numbers by the powerful influence of sympathy with their courage and compassion for their sufferings, and a growing abhorrence among them of the order of bishops and the whole frame of a church which to them was an organ of injustice and tyranny. It is certain that all or almost all the Puritans of those times were at first averse to separate from the church of England ; and their ministers were still more reluctant to abet a schism and renounce their preferments. They willingly recognized in her the character of a true Christian church, and merely claimed for themselves

indulgence with regard to a few ceremonies which did not affect the substance of her constitution. But the injurious treatment which they received held forth a premium to very different considerations, and at once aroused their passions, stimulated their inquiries, and extended their arguments and objections. Expelled from fellowship with the national church, they were forcibly invited to inquire if they could not dispense with that which they found they could not obtain ; and were easily led to question if the genuine features of a Christian church could be recognized in that society which not only rejected but persecuted them for conscientious adherence, in a matter of ceremonial observance, to what they believed to be the manifest will of God. As the Puritan principles spread through the mass of society, and encountered in their progress a greater variety of character in their votaries and of treatment from their adversaries, considerable varieties and inequalities of sentiment and conduct appeared in different portions of the Puritan body. Some of them caught the spirit of their oppressors, and, in words at least, retaliated the unchristian usage they underwent. They combined the doctrines of the New with the practices of the Old Testament, in a manner which will not excite the wonder of those who recollect that some of the very earliest votaries of Christianity in the world committed the same error, and so far forgot the meekness they had been commanded to evince, as even in the presence of their Divine Master to propose the invocation of fire from heaven on the men who rejected their society. But the instances of this spirit were at first exceedingly rare ; and it was not till the following reigns that it prevailed either strongly or widely. In general, the oppressed Puritans conducted themselves with the fortitude of heroes and the patience of saints ; and, what is surprising, they made more zealous and successful efforts to preserve their loyalty than the queen and the bishops did to extinguish it. Many, in defiance of every danger, followed the preaching of their favorite ministers into the highways and fields, or assembled privately in conventicles, which the general sympathy, or the connivance of their secret partisans among the adherents of the ecclesiastical establishment, sometimes preserved from detection. Others reluctantly tarried within the pale of the national church, un-

weariedly pursuing their ineffectual attempts to promote parliamentary interference in behalf of the Puritan cause, and casting a wistful eye on the presumptive succession of a prince who was educated in a Presbyterian society. Some, at length, openly disclaimed the national system, and were led by the cruel excesses of magisterial power to the conviction, that magisterial power ought to be banished entirely from the administration of the kingdom of Christ.¹

The designs of the queen were cordially abetted by the angry zeal of those Churchmen who had fled from England in the preceding reign, and taken part in the controversy that arose with the Puritans during their common exile. But the whole civil and ecclesiastical policy of the present reign was mainly and essentially the offspring of Elizabeth's own character and disposition. The Puritan writers, bestowing an undue proportion of their resentment on those persons whose functions rendered them the instruments as well as the apologists of the queen's ecclesiastical system, have been disposed to impute the tyrannical features of this system exclusively to the bishops, and particularly to Whitgift, whose influence with Elizabeth they ascribe to his constant habit of addressing her on his knees.² But Whitgift, in seconding her enmity to the Puritans, did no more than subminister to her favorite and declared purpose ; with zeal half courtly, half clerical, he flattered a temper which she had already unequivocally manifested, and swam with the stream of that resolute determination, which, he saw, would have its way. The abject homage which he paid her was nothing more than she was accustomed generally to receive ; and the observation which it has attracted from the Puritans denotes rather a peculiarity in their own sentiments and manners, than any thing remarkable in the conduct of their ecclesiastical adversary. Not one of her subjects was permitted to address the queen without kneeling ; wherever she turned her eye, every one was expected to fall on his knees ; and even in her absence, the nobles, who were alone deemed worthy to cover her table, made three genuflections every time they approached or retired from it in the performance of their menial

¹ Strype's *Life of Whitgift*. Fuller's *Church History*. Neal. ² Neal.

duty.¹ This was an exact counterpart of the homage rendered by the Catholics to the Real Presence, which they believed to reside in the Host ; and the sentiments which it tended to implant, both in the prince who received and the subjects who proffered it, were confirmed by the language of parliament, in which the queen was continually flattered with attributes and praise befitting the homage of creatures to their Creator. Nor was this servile system of manners peculiar to the reign of Elizabeth. On the contrary, it was carried even to a greater extent under the government of her predecessors ; and her ministers frequently noted and deplored the decay of that *fearfulness and reverence of their superiors* which had formerly characterized the inferior estates of the realm.² Sense and reason shared the ignominy and degradation of manners ; arrogance disordered the understanding of the prince, while servility deformed the sentiments of the people ; and if Henry the Eighth, by a royal proclamation, assured the populace that they were *brutes*, — the same populace, in their petitions against his measures, represented the promotion of *low-born persons* to public trust and honor as one of the most serious and intolerable grievances of which they had reason to complain.³

The sentiments which such practices and manners tended to create or nourish in the mind of the queen enhanced the displeasure with which she regarded the Puritans, who were fated to offend her by their political conduct, as well as their religious opinions. Many persons of note among them obtained seats in parliament, where they studied to cherish and invigorate a spirit of liberty, and direct its energy to the protection of their persecuted brethren. Impelled, by the severity of the restraints they experienced, to investigate the boundaries of that authority by which such restraints were imposed, — and regulating their sentiments rather by the consequences they foresaw than by the precedents they remembered, — they questioned the rational legitimacy of the most inveterate prac-

¹ Hentzner's *Journey into England in 1598*. Much of this abject ceremonial was abolished by King James, who, though highly relishing adulation, found himself embarrassed by a mode of displaying it so ill suited to his awkward manners and ungainly appearance.

² Hayne's *Collection of State Papers*.

³ Lord Herbert.

tices, and obtained the confidence of the people by showing themselves the indefatigable and fearless defenders of all who were oppressed. In the annals of those times, we find them continually supporting petitions in parliament against monopolies, and advocating propositions for reformation of ecclesiastical abuses and corruptions. Attracting popular favor, and willing to undergo the labor of parliamentary service, they gradually multiplied their numbers in the House of Commons, and acquired an ascendant over its deliberations. The queen, observing that the Puritans were the sole abettors of measures calculated to restrict her prerogative, was easily led to ascribe the peculiarity of their religious and political opinions to the same source, — a malignant aversion to exalted rank, and mutinous impatience of subordination. Their reluctance to render to the Deity that ceremonious homage which she herself received from the most illustrious persons in the land, and their inclination to curtail the royal authority, which from no other quarter experienced resistance, seemed to her the manifest proofs of an insolent disregard no less of the Supreme Being than of her, his acknowledged vicegerent and representative, — a presumptuous insurrection of spirit against the reverence due to God and the loyalty due to the prince.¹

Nothing could be more unjust and fallacious than this royal reasoning. The religion as well as the loyalty of the Puritans was the less ceremonious, only because it was the more reflective, profound, and substantial. *To preserve an unstained conscience, they encountered the extremities of ecclesiastical rigor. Notwithstanding the most oppressive and tyrannical treatment, they exhibited a resolute constancy of regard to their sovereign. And neither intimidated by danger nor

¹ In a speech from the throne, she informed the Commons (after a candid confession that she knew nobody who had read or reflected as much as herself), that whoever attacked the constitutions of the church slandered her as its supreme head, divinely appointed; and that, if the Papists were inveterate enemies to her person, the modern sectaries were no less formidable to all regal government. She added, that she was determined to suppress their overboldness in presumptuously scanning the will of God Almighty. D'Ewes's *Account of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments*. The cruel law that was passed in the thirty-fifth year of the queen's reign, against all ecclesiastical recusants, is entitled "An Act to retain her Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience," and was intended, as the preamble declares, to repress the evil practices of "sectaries and disloyal persons," — synonymous descriptions of guilt, in the estimation of Elizabeth.

dispirited by defeat, they maintained a continual effort to check the excesses of despotic authority, and to rear and sustain the infant liberties of their country. They have incurred the reproach of gloomy and unseasonable melancholy from those who rendered their lives at once bitter and precarious ; of a neglect of general literature, and an exclusive study of the Bible, from those who destroyed their writings, subjected the press to episcopal licensers, and deprived them of every source of comfort and direction but what the Bible could supply ; of an exaggerated estimate of little matters, from those who rendered such matters the occasion of cruel suffering and enormous wrong to them ; of a stern jealousy of civil power, from those who made it continually their interest to question and abridge the authority by which they were oppressed. A great philosopher and historian, who will not be suspected of any undue partiality for Puritan tenets, whether religious or political, has been constrained to acknowledge that the Puritans were the preservers of civil and religious liberty in England.¹ It was a scion of the same stock that was destined to propagate these blessings in America.

The minds of a numerous party among the Puritans had been gradually prepared to disclaim the authority of the national church, and to deny the lawfulness of holding communion with it ; inasmuch, that, when these sentiments were first publicly proclaimed by Robert Brown, in 1586, they readily gained the assent and open profession of multitudes. Brown, who obtained the distinction of bestowing his name on a sect which derived very little credit from the appellation, was a young clergyman of good family, endowed with a restless, intrepid

¹ "So absolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone ; and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." *Hume's England*. Again, "It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and, spreading themselves under the shelter of Puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people." *Ibid*.

In a well known passage, Hume has represented the domestic leisure and social converse of the Puritan leaders as polluted by a barbarous sullenness, vulgarity, and fanaticism ; most unjustly, as every one must have felt, who, in reading the *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, has paused over the delightful picture they present of ease and leisure devoted to elegant studies, virtuous pursuits, useful occupations, polite amusements, rational converse, and cheerful hospitality.

disposition, a fiery temper, and an insatiable thirst for controversy. Encountering the wrath of ecclesiastics with still fiercer wrath, and trampling on their arrogance with more than clerical pride, he roamed about the country, inveighing against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, religious ceremonies, and episcopal ordination of ministers, and exulting, above all, in the boast that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not discern his hand at noonday. His impetuous and illiberal spirit accelerated the publication of opinions which were not yet matured in the Puritan body, and which, but for his unseasonable interposition and perverting influence, might sooner have been ripened into the system of the Independents. The queen and the bishops applied the usual remedy of persecution to this innovation, with even more than the usual evidence of the unfitness of such instrumentality to accomplish their purpose. Supported by strong argument, maintained with striking zeal and courage, and opposed by cruelties that disgraced the name of religion, the principles of the Brownists spread widely through the land. Brown himself, and a congregation more immediately attached to him, expatriated to Middelburg, in Zeeland, where they were permitted to express and cultivate their opinions without molestation. But Brown had collected around him spirits too congenial to his own to preserve their union when the iron band of oppression was withdrawn. The congregation crumbled into parties, and was soon dissolved; and Brown, returning to England, rejoined the national church, and, contracting dissolute habits, ended his days in indolence and contempt. But the doctrines which he had been the means of introducing to public notice had firmly rooted themselves in the Puritan body, and received daily accessions to the numbers and respectability of their votaries.¹

The Brownists did not dissent from the church of England in any of her articles of faith, but they accounted her ritual and discipline unscriptural and superstitious, and all her sacraments and ordinances invalid; and they renounced communion not only with her, but with every other Protestant church that was

¹ Fuller. Neal.

not constructed on the same model as their own. Their ecclesiastical model was derived from the closest imitation of the apostolical institutions as delineated in Scripture. When a church or congregation was to be formed, all the persons who desired to be members of it professed the particulars of their religious faith in each other's presence, and signed a covenant by which they obliged themselves to make the Bible and its ordinances the sole guide of their conduct. Each congregation formed an independent church, and the admission or exclusion of members resided with the brethren composing it. Their ecclesiastical officers were elected from among themselves, and invested with their several charges of preaching the gospel, administering the sacramental ordinances, and relieving the poor,—after fasting and prayer, by the imposition of the hands of certain of the brethren. They did not account the priesthood a distinct order, nor the ministerial character indelible; but deemed, that, as the appointment of the church conferred on a minister his function (which in its exercise, too, was limited to the special body to which he was attached), so the same authority was sufficient to deprive him of it. It was permitted to any one of the brethren to exercise *the liberty of prophesying*, which meant the addressing of occasional exhortation to the people; and it was usual for some of them, after the customary religious service, to promulgate questions and considerations relative to the doctrines that had been preached.¹ The condition to which the Puritans were reduced by their oppressors favored the prevalence of all that was separative and unsocial in the principles of the Brownist teachers; for, as they could assemble only by stealth, it was impossible to preserve a regular intercourse between their churches, or to ascertain how far they mutually agreed in doctrine and discipline.

Against these men, in whose characters were united more piety, virtue, courage, and loyalty than any other portion of her people displayed, did Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical counsellors direct the whole fury of the law. John Udall, one of their ministers, was tried in the year 1591, for having published a defence of their tenets, which he entitled, *A Demonstration*

¹ Neal.

of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of the Church in all Times and Places until the World's End. This performance, consistently with Elizabeth's maxim, that whoever attacked the established church slandered the queen, was regarded as a political libel, and Udall was arraigned on a charge of capital felony. In conformity with the barbarous jurisprudence which then prevailed in England, the witnesses against the prisoner were not confronted with him ; his proposition to adduce exculpatory evidence was disallowed, as an affront to the majesty of the crown ; and because he refused at the bar to swear that he was not the author of the book, his refusal was urged against him as the strongest proof of his guilt. When he was told by one of the judges that a book replete with sentiments so inconsistent with the established institutions tended to the overthrow of the state by the provocation of rebellion, he replied, " My Lords, that be far from me ; for we teach, that, reforming things amiss, if the prince will not consent, the weapons that subjects are to fight withal, are repentance and prayers, patience and tears." The judge offered him his life, if he would recant ; and added, that he was now ready to pronounce sentence of death. " And I am ready to receive it," exclaimed this magnanimous man ; " for I protest before God (not knowing that I have to live an hour) that the cause is good ; and I am contented to receive sentence, so that I may leave it to posterity how I have suffered for the cause."¹ He was condemned to die ; and being still urged to submit to the queen, he readily expressed his regret that any of his writings had given her offence, and disclaimed any such wish or intention, but firmly refused to disown what he believed to be truth, or to renounce liberty of conscience. By the interest of some powerful friends, a conditional pardon was obtained for him ; but before the terms of it could be adjusted, or the queen prevailed on to sign it, he died in prison.

¹ Howell's *State Trials*. It is remarkable, that, although one devoted victim of royal vengeance and persecution (Sir Nicholas Throgmorton) was enabled to escape during the reign of Mary, not one of the objects of Elizabeth's hostility was equally fortunate. A great addition to the power, as well as the pretensions, of the first Protestant sovereigns of England was derived from their assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy previously ascribed to the Roman pontiff.

Penry, Greenwood, Barrow, and Dennis, of whom the first two were clergymen, and the others laymen, were soon after tried on similar charges, and perished by the hands of the executioner. A pardon was offered to them, if they would retract their profession ; but, inspired by a courage which no earthly motive could overcome, they clung to their principles, and left the care of their lives to Heaven. Some more were hanged for dispersing the writings, and several for attending the discourses, of the Brownists. Many others endured the torture of severe imprisonment, and numerous families were reduced to indigence by heavy fines.¹ Who could doubt the final triumph of a cause that already produced so noble an army of heroes and martyrs ? As the most virtuous and honorable are ever, on such occasions, most exposed to danger, every stroke of the oppressor's arm is aimed at those very qualities in his adversaries that constitute his own defence and security ; and hence, severities, so odious to mankind, and so calculated to unite by a strong sympathy the minds of the spectators and the sufferers, are more likely to diminish the virtue than the numbers of a party. By dint of long continuance and of the exertion of their influence on a greater variety of human character, they finally divested a great many of the Puritans of the spirit of meekness and non-resistance for which the fathers of the party had been so highly distinguished. But this fruit was not gathered till a subsequent reign ; and the first effect of the system of rigor was not only to multiply the numbers, but to confirm the virtue of the Puritans. When persecution had as yet but invigorated their fortitude without inspiring ferocity, a portion of this people was happily conducted to the retreat of America, there to plant and extend the principles of their cause, — while their brethren in England remained behind to revenge its accumulated wrongs.

When the queen was informed, by Dr. Reynolds, of the firm and elevated, yet mild and gentle, piety which the martyrs of her cruelty had displayed, — how they blessed their persecuting sovereign, and turned the scaffolds to which she consigned them into scenes of holy charity, whence they prayed

¹ Strype's *Life of Whitgift*. Fuller. Neal.

for her long and happy reign, — her heart was touched with a sentiment of remorse, and she expressed regret for having taken their lives away. But repentance with all mankind is too often but a fruitless anguish ; and princes have been known to bewail, even with tears, the mortal condition of multitudes whom they were conducting to slaughter, and the brevity of that life which their own selfish and sanguinary ambition was contributing still farther to abridge. Elizabeth, so far from alleviating, increased, the legislative severities whose effects she had deplored ; and was fated never to see her errors, till it was too late to repair them. In the year 1593, a few months after the executions which we have remarked, a new and severer law was enacted against the Puritans. These sectaries were not only increasing their numbers every day, but furnishing so many votaries of the Brownist or Independent doctrines, that, in the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the introduction of this measure, Sir Walter Raleigh stated that the number of professed Brownists alone then amounted to twenty thousand. The humane argument, however, which he derived from this consideration, was unavailing to prevent the enactment of a law,¹ which ordained, that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship in a legitimate parochial church, should be committed to prison ; that, if he persisted three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm ; and that, if he either refused this condition, or returned after banishment, he should suffer death as a felon. If this act was not more fortunate than its predecessors in accomplishing the main object of checking the growth of Puritan principles, it promoted at least the subordinate purpose of driving a great many of the professors of ecclesiastical independency out of England.

A numerous society of these fugitives was collected, about the close of the sixteenth century, at Amsterdam, where they flourished in peace and piety for upwards of a hundred years.

¹ 35 Eliz. Cap. 1. Raleigh was not the only favorite of Elizabeth who was opposed to her ecclesiastical policy. One of the causes of her displeasure at Lord Essex was the countenance he gave to the Puritans, who had previously received still more active patronage from her haughty minion, Lord Leicester. — Walton's *Life of Hooker*.

Others retired to various Protestant states on the continent, whence, with fond, delusive hope, they looked to be recalled to their native land on the accession of Elizabeth's successor. The remainder continued in England, to fluctuate between the evasion and the violation of the law, — cherishing along with their principles a stern impatience, generated by the galling restraint that impeded the free expression of them ; and yet retained in submission by the hope, which, in common with the exiles, they indulged, of a mitigation of their sufferings on the demise of the queen.¹ Some historians have expressed surprise at the close concurrence of that general and impatient desire of a new reign, which was manifested in the conclusion of Elizabeth's life,² with the strong and sudden disgust which the government of her successor experienced ; and hence have taken occasion, with censorious but inapplicable wisdom, to deplore the ingratitude and fickleness of mankind. But the seeming inconsistency admits of an explanation more honorable to human nature, though less creditable to royal wisdom and virtue. Elizabeth had exhausted the patience and loyalty of a great portion of her subjects ; and the adherence to her policy, which her successor unexpectedly manifested, disappointed all the hopes by which those virtues had been sustained.

The hopes of the Puritans were derived from the education of the Scottish king, and supported by many of his declarations, which were eagerly cited and circulated in England. James (pupil of the great George Buchanan, who succeeded no farther than in rendering the object of his tuition, what Sully termed him, the wisest fool in Europe) was bred a Presbyterian ; he had publicly declared that the church of Scotland was the best ecclesiastical constitution in the world, and that the English liturgy resembled, to his apprehension, an ill-chanted mass. On his accession to the English crown, he was solicited by numerous petitions to interpose his authority for the protection and relief of the Puritans ; and at first he showed himself so far disposed to comply with their wishes as to appoint a solemn conference between their leaders and the heads of the Church party at Hampton Court. But the hopes

¹ Strype's *Life of Whitgift*. D'Ewes. Neal.

² " Four days after her death, she was forgotten." — Carte's *England*.

inspired by the proposition of this conference were disappointed by its result. [Jan. 1604.] If James ever sincerely preferred a Presbyterian to an Episcopal establishment, his opinion was entirely reversed by the opportunity he now enjoyed of comparing them with each other, and by the very different treatment he experienced from their respective ministers.

In Scotland he had been engaged in perpetual contentions with the clergy, who did not recognize in his kingly office any supremacy over their church, and who differed from him exceedingly in their estimate of his piety, capacity, and attainments. Precluded by his poverty from a display of regal pomp, that might have dazzled their eyes, and hid the weakness of the man behind the grandeur of the monarch, he stood plainly revealed to their keen glance, an awkward personification of conceit and pedantry, obstinate but unsteady, filled with the rubbish and subtilty of scholastic learning, void of manly sense and useful knowledge. They have been accused, and not without reason, of disturbing his government by exercising a censorial power over it ; but it was he himself that first taught, or at least encouraged, them thus to overstep their functions. Extending his administration into their peculiar province, where it had no right to penetrate, he seemed to sanction as well as provoke their retributive strictures on his intrusion. Mingling religious notions with his political views, he attempted to remodel the church ; and the clergy, mingling political doctrines with their theological sentiments, complained of his interference, and censured the whole strain of his government. In an appeal to the public opinion and will, they easily triumphed over the unpopular pretensions of their feeble sovereign, and gained a victory which they used with little moderation, and which he resented not less as a theological than as a political affront. One of the ministers of the church of Scotland had so far transgressed the limits of decency and propriety as to declare publicly that “ all kings are the Devil’s children ” ;¹ and James retorted the discourtesy, when he found himself safe from their spleen and turbulence in England, by warmly protesting that “ a Scottish presbytery agrees as well with mon-

¹ Spottiswoode.

archy as God and the Devil.”¹ The sentiments that naturally resulted from offended arrogance and mortified presumption were expanded to their amplest plenitude by the blaze of flattery and adulation with which the dignitaries of the English church greeted their new sovereign. By them he was readily hailed the supreme head of their establishment, the protector of its privileges, the centre of its splendor, the fountain of its dignities ; and Whitgift did not scruple to declare, in the conference at Hampton Court, that *undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of God’s spirit*.²

This was the last impulse that the deluded ecclesiastic was destined to impart to royal pride and folly. Confounded at the wide and spreading explosion of Puritan sentiment, which he had flattered himself with the hope of having almost entirely extinguished, his grief and concern so violently affected his aged frame as to cause his death very shortly after. [Feb. 1604.] But he had already contributed to instil the ecclesiastical spirit of Elizabeth into the mind of her successor ; and James, inflamed with admiration of a church, which, like a faithful mirror (he thought), so justly reflected and illustrated his royal perfections, became henceforward the determined patron of the church of England, and the persecutor of all who opposed her institutions. He was the first prince who assumed the title of *Sacred Majesty*, which the loyalty of bishops transferred from their God to their king. His natural conceit, fortified by the testimony of the English prelates, soared to a height of surpassing arrogance and presumption ; and he, who, in Scotland, had found himself curbed in every attempt to interfere with the religious institutions of his own narrow realm, now reckoned himself qualified and entitled to dictate the ecclesiastical policy of foreign nations.

Engaging in a dispute with Vorstius, professor of theology in a Dutch university, and finding his adversary insensible to the weight of his arguments, he resolved to make him feel at least the weight and the stretch of his power ; and, roused on this occasion to a degree of energy and haughtiness to which no other foreign concernment was ever able to excite him, he

¹ Fuller.

² Kennet.

remonstrated so strenuously with the States of Holland, that, to silence his clamor, they stooped to the mean injustice of deposing and banishing the professor. With this sacrifice to his insulted logic James was forced to be contented, though he had endeavoured to inspire his allies with the purpose of more sanguinary vindication, by acquainting them, "that, as to the *burning* of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own Christian wisdom, — though, surely, never heretic better deserved the flames." He did not fail to reinforce this charitable counsel by his own example ; and in the course of his reign burned at the stake two persons who entertained the Arian system of doctrine,¹ and an unfortunate lunatic who mistook himself for the Deity, and whose frenzy was thus cruelly treated by a much more dangerous and deliberate invader of divine attributes.

If James had not been restrained by the growing political ascendancy of the Puritans, there would probably have been more of such executions in England. He did, however, as much as he dared ; and finding in Bancroft a fit successor to Whitgift, he made, with his assistance, so vigorous a commencement, that in the second year of his reign three hundred Puritan ministers were deprived of their benefices, and either imprisoned or banished. To preclude the communication of light from abroad, the importation of any books hostile to the restraints imposed by the laws of the realm or the king's proclamations was forbidden under the severest penalties ; to prevent its rise and repress its spread at home, no books were suffered to be printed in England without the license of a committee of bishops or their deputies ; and arbitrary jurisdictions for the trial of ecclesiastical offences were multiplied and extended. Persons suspected of entertaining Puritan sentiments, even though they adhered to the established ecclesiastical system, were subjected to fine and imprisonment for barely repeating to their families, in the evening, the substance of the discourses they had heard at church during the day, — under the pretence, that this constituted the crime of irregular preach-

¹ One of these victims is termed by Fuller, in his *Church History*, "our English Vorstius." The king, in imitation of Henry the Eighth's generosity to Lambert, held a personal dispute with him, and concluded it by delivering him into the hands of the executioner.

ing. One Peacham, a Puritan minister, in whose study there was seized, by a tyrannical stretch of power, a manuscript discourse never preached, nor intended to be preached, containing censures on the royal government, was, by the king's desire, first tortured on the rack, and then condemned to the death of a traitor.

Some of the Puritans having conceived the design of withdrawing to Virginia, where they hoped that distance would at least mitigate the violence of oppression, a small party of them did actually repair thither; and a larger number were preparing to follow, when Bancroft, apprized of their intention, obtained a proclamation from the king, commanding that none of his subjects should settle in Virginia without the authority of an express license under the great seal. [1620.] Thus harassed and oppressed in England, and denied a refuge in Virginia, the Puritans began to retire in considerable numbers to the Protestant states of the continent of Europe; and the hopes of the still greater and increasing portion that remained at home were fixed on the House of Commons. In this assembly the Puritan ascendancy at length became so manifest, that, in spite of the king's proclamations for encouraging mirthful games on Sunday, a bill was introduced for compelling a more strict and solemn observance of the day, to which it gave the denomination of the Sabbath; and when one member objected to this as a Puritan appellation, and ventured to justify dancing on Sunday by a jocose misapplication of some passages of Scripture, he was, on the suggestion of Pym, expelled from the House for his profanity.¹ But we have now reached the period at which we forsake the main stream of the history of the Puritans, to follow the fortunes of that illustrious branch which was destined to visit and ennoble the deserts of America. In reviewing the strange succession of events which we have beheld, and the various impressions they have produced on our minds, it may perhaps occur to some, as a humiliating consideration, that the crimes and follies, the cruelties and weaknesses, which would excite no other sentiments but horror, grief, or pity in an angelic beholder, are capable

¹ K. James's *Works*. *Journals of the House of Commons*. Rymer. Neal. *Sith's Virginia*. *State Trials*.

of presenting themselves in such an aspect to less purified eyes, as to excite the splenetic mirth even of beings whose nature is reproached by the odious or absurd display.

In the year 1610, a congregation of Brownists, expelled by royal and ecclesiastical tyranny from their native land, removed to Leyden, where they were permitted to establish themselves in peace under the ministry of their pastor, John Robinson.¹ This excellent person may be justly regarded as the founder of the society of Independents, having been the first teacher who steered a middle course between the narrow path of Brownism and the broader Presbyterian system ; to one or other of which the views and inclinations of the Puritans were now generally tending. The sentiments which he entertained, when he first quitted his country, bore the impress of the persecution under which they had been formed, and when he commenced his ministry at Leyden he was a rigid Brownist ; but after he had seen more of the world, and enjoyed opportunities of familiar converse with learned and good men of different ecclesiastical denominations, he began to entertain a more charitable opinion of those minor differences, which he plainly perceived might subsist without injury to the essentials of religion, and without violating charity or generating discord. Though he always maintained the legitimacy and expediency of separating from the established Protestant churches in the country where he lived, he willingly allowed them the character of churches substantially Christian ; esteemed it lawful to unite with them in preaching and prayer ; and freely admitted their members to partake the sacrament of the Lord's Supper with his own congregation. He considered that each particular church or society of Christians possessed the power of electing its officers, administering the gospel ordinances, and exercising over its own members every necessary act of discipline and authority ; and, consequently, that it was independent of all ecclesiastical synods, convocations, and councils. He admitted the expediency of synods and councils for composition of emergent differences between particular churches

¹ Cardinal Bentivoglio, in his *Account of the United Provinces*, describes these exiles as a *body of English heretics, called Puritans, who had resorted to Holland for purposes of commerce.*

by the communication of friendly advice to them ; but denied their competence to exercise any act of jurisdiction, or authoritatively to impose any articles or canons of doctrine. These sentiments Robinson recommended to esteem, by exemplifying in his life and demeanour the best fruits of that divine spirit by whose tuition they were imparted, — by a character and behaviour, in which the most eminent faculties and the highest attainments were leavened and controlled by the predominating influence of a solemn, affectionate piety.¹ [1620.]

Enjoying the counsel and direction of such a pastor, and entertaining a just sense of his value, the English exiles composing this congregation remained for ten years at Leyden, in harmony with each other and in peace with their neighbours. But at the end of that period, the same pious views that had prompted their original departure from England incited them to undertake a more distant migration. They beheld with strong concern the prevalence around them of manners which they esteemed loose and profane ; more particularly, the general neglect among the Dutch of a reverential observance of Sunday ; and they reflected with apprehension on the danger to which their children were exposed from the natural contagion of habits so inimical to serious piety. Their country, too, still retained a hold on their affections ; and they were loath to behold their posterity commingled and identified with the Dutch population. The smallness of their numbers, together with the difficulties occasioned by difference of language, discouraged them from attempting to propagate in Holland the principles, which, with so much peril and suffering, they had hitherto maintained ; and the conduct of the English government extinguished every hope of toleration in their native land. The famous *Arminian Controversy*, moreover, which was now raging in Holland with a fury that produced the barbarous execution of the Grand Pensionary Barneveldt and the imprisonment of the illustrious Grotius, probably contributed to alienate the desires of the English exiles from farther residence in a land where the Calvinistic tenets which they cherished were thus disgraced by practical cruelty and

¹ Mather's *Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England*. Neal. Robinson's *Apology for the Brownists*.

intolerance. In these circumstances, it occurred to them that they might combine the indulgence of their patriotic attachment with the propagation of their religious principles, by establishing themselves in some remote, sequestered part of the British dominions ; and after many days of earnest supplication for the counsel and direction of Heaven, they unanimously determined to transport themselves and their families to the territory of America. It was resolved that a select portion of the congregation should proceed thither before the rest, to prepare a settlement for the whole ; and that the main body meanwhile should continue at Leyden with their pastor. In choosing the particular scene of their establishment, they hesitated for some time between the territory of Guiana, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had published a most dazzling and attractive description (mainly the offspring of his own lively and fertile imagination), and the province of Virginia, to which they finally gave the preference ; but Providence had ordained that their residence should be established in New England.

By the intervention of agents, whom they deputed to solicit the sanction of the English government to their enterprise, they represented to the king, “that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land ; that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole ; and that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontent cause to wish themselves at home again.” The king, wavering between his desire to promote the colonization of America, and his reluctance to suffer the consciences of any portion of his subjects to be emancipated from his control, refused to grant them a charter assuring the full enjoyment of ecclesiastical liberty, but promised to connive at their practices, and to refrain from molesting them. They were forced to accept this precarious security, and would hardly have obtained it but for the friendly interposition of Sir Robert Nanton, one of the secretaries of state, and a favorer of the Puritans ; but they relied with more reason on their distance from the ecclesiastical tribunals of England, and from the eye and arm of

their persecuting sovereign. Having procured from the Plymouth Company a grant of a tract of land, situated, as was supposed, within the limits of its patent, some members of the congregation sold their estates, and expended the purchase-money in the equipment of two vessels, in which a hundred and twenty of their number were appointed to embark from an English port for North America.¹ [1620.]

All things being prepared for the departure of this detachment of the congregation from Delft Haven, where they took leave of their associates, for the English port of ultimate embarkation, Robinson and his people devoted their last meeting in Europe to an act of solemn and social worship, intended to implore a blessing from Heaven upon the hazardous enterprise. He preached a sermon to them from Ezra viii. 21 : — *I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance ;* — and concluded his discourse with the following exhortation, to which, with the fullest perception of its intrinsic merits, our sentiments will fail to do justice, unless we remember that such a spirit of Christian candor and liberality as it breathes was then hardly known in the world.

“Brethren,” said he, “we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more the God of heaven only knows ; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

“If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry ; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Hazard. Oldmixon. If the Puritans would have stooped to intrigue and duplicity, they might have had more powerful partisans at court than Sir Robert Nanton. The Duke of Buckingham, in imitation of the policy of Lord Leicester and Lord Essex, in the preceding reign, vainly attempted to obtain an ascendancy over the Puritans by caressing their leaders.

period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw ; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it ; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

“ This is a misery much to be lamented ; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God ; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember it, 't is an article of your church covenant, *that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.* Remember *that*, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed *what* you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it ; for 't is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownist ; 't is a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world.”

Having said thus much, he exchanged with them embraces and affectionate farewells ; and kneeling down with them all on the seashore, commended them, in a fervent prayer, to the blessing and protection of Heaven.¹ Such were the men whom the English monarch cast out of his dominions ; and such the scenes of wisdom and piety, which the control of Divine Providence elicited from the folly, arrogance, and bigotry of a tyrant.

The emigrants were at first driven back by a storm which destroyed one of their vessels ; but finally reëmbarking in the other at Plymouth, on the 6th of September, they succeeded, after a long and dangerous voyage, in reaching the coast of America. [9th Nov., 1620.] Hudson's River was the place

¹ Mather. Hazard.

where they had proposed to disembark, and its banks were the scene of their intended settlement ; but the Dutch, who conceived that a preferable right to this territory accrued to them from its discovery by Captain Hudson, had maintained there, for some years, a small commercial establishment, and were actually projecting a scheme of more extensive occupation, which they were neither disposed to forego, nor yet prepared to defend. In order to defeat the design of the English, they bribed the captain of the vessel in which the emigrants sailed, who was a Dutchman, to carry his passengers so far towards the north, that the first land which they reached was Cape Cod, a region not only beyond the precincts of their grant, but beyond the territories of the company from which the grant was derived. The advanced period of the year, and the sickness occasioned by the hardships of a long voyage, compelled the adventurers to settle on the soil to which they were thus conducted, and which seemed to have been expressly prepared and evacuated for their reception by a pestilential disease, which, during several preceding years, had swept away nine tenths of its savage and idolatrous population. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a place afterwards included within the province of Massachusetts, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, in commemoration of the city with which their last recollections of England were associated. To supply, in some measure, the absence of a more formal title, they composed and subscribed an instrument declaratory of the purpose with which they had come to America, recognizing the sovereign authority of the English crown, and expressing their own combination into a body politic, and their determination to enact just and righteous laws, and to evince and enforce a strict obedience to them.¹ Here, then, remote from scenes and circumstances of temporal grandeur, these men embarked on a career, which, if the true dignity of human actions be derived from the motives that prompt them, the principles they express, and the ends they contemplate,

¹ Mather. Neal. Oldmixon. Hutchinson. The fraud by which the Dutch contrived to divert these emigrants from Hudson's River was discovered and stated in a memorial, which was published in England before the close of this year. Prince's *New England Chronology*.

must be allowed to claim no common measure of honor and elevation. To live for eternity, and in the prospect of it, they deemed the great business of their lives ; this was a just and noble calculation of the value of existence.

The speedy approach and intense severity of their first winter in America painfully convinced the settlers that a more unfavorable season of the year could not have been selected for the plantation of their colony ; and that the slender stores with which they were provided were greatly short of what was requisite to comfortable subsistence, and formed a very inadequate preparation to meet the rigor of the climate. Their exertions to procure for themselves suitable dwellings were obstructed, for a time, by the hostile attacks of some of the neighbouring Indians, who had not forgotten the injurious conduct of Captain Hunt ; and the colonists had scarcely succeeded in repulsing them, when sickness, occasioned by scarcity of provisions and the increasing horrors of the season, afflicted them with a calamity, perhaps less dangerous to their virtue, but more fatal to their strength and security, than the perils of war. More than one half of their number, including John Carver, their first governor, perished by hunger or disease before the return of spring ; and during the whole of the winter, only a few were capable of providing for themselves, or rendering assistance to the rest. But hope and virtue survived ; and, rising in vigor beneath the pressure of accumulated suffering, surmounted and ennobled every circumstance of distress. [1621.] Those who retained their strength became the servants of the weak, the afflicted, and the dying ; and none distinguished himself more in this humane employment than Carver, the governor. He was a man of large estate, but more enlarged benevolence ; he had spent his whole fortune on the colonial project ; and now, willingly contributing his life to its accomplishment, he exhausted a feeble body in laboriously discharging the humblest offices of kindness and service to the sick. He was succeeded by William Bradford, who, inheriting the merit and the popularity of his predecessor, was reelected to the same office for many successive years, — notwithstanding his own earnest desire to be released from the charge, and his oft repeated remonstrance, that, *if this office*

were an honor, it should be shared by his fellow-citizens, and if it were a burden, the weight of it should not always be imposed upon him.

When the distress of the colonists was at its height, the approach of a powerful Indian chief with a band of his followers seemed to portend their utter destruction ; but, happily, in the train of this personage was the ancient guest and friend of the English, Squanto, who eagerly and successfully labored to mediate a good understanding between them and his countrymen. He afterwards cancelled the merit of this useful service, and endeavoured to magnify his own importance by fabricating charges of plots and conspiracies against some of the neighbouring tribes, while at the same time he maintained an empire of terror over these tribes by secretly assuring them that the English were in possession of a cask filled with the plague, which only his influence prevented them from setting abroad for the destruction of the Indians. But, before he resorted to this mischievous policy, the colonists had become independent of his services. His friendship with the English was never entirely dissolved ; and on his death-bed, soon after, he desired Governor Bradford to pray for him, *that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven.* Some of the neighbouring tribes, from time to time, made alarming demonstrations of hostility ; but they were at length completely overawed by the conduct and valor of Captain Miles Standish, a gallant and skilful officer, who, with a handful of men, was always ready to encounter their strongest force, and foil their most dexterous stratagems and rapidest movements.¹

On the arrival of summer, the health of the colonists was restored ; and their numbers continued to be recruited occasionally, by successive emigrations of oppressed Puritans from Europe. But these additions fell far short of their expectations ; and of the reinforcement which they had mainly looked for from the accession of the remanent congregation at Leyden, they were unhappily disappointed. The unexpected death of

¹ Mather. Neal. Oldmixon. Belknap's *American Biography*. Peter Martyr declares, that the hardships endured by the Spaniards in South America were such as none but Spaniards could have supported. But the hardships sustained by the first colonists of New Plymouth appear to have exceeded them both in duration and intensity. See Hutchinson, II., Appendix.

Robinson, their pastor, deprived his people of the only leader whose animating counsels could have overcome the timidity inspired by the accounts of the manifold hardships and distresses sustained by their friends in New England ; and upon that event, the greater part of those who had remained behind at Leyden now retired to join the other English exiles at Amsterdam, and very few had the courage to proceed to New Plymouth. This small colony, however, had displayed a hardy virtue that showed it was formed for endurance ; and, having surmounted its first misfortunes, continued to flourish in the cultivation of piety, and the enjoyment of religious and political freedom. A generous attachment was formed to the soil which had been so worthily earned, and to the society whose continuance attested so manly and glorious a struggle with every variety of ill. While the colonists demonstrated a proper respect for the claims of the original inhabitants of the country, by purchasing from them the territory over which their settlement extended, they neglected no preparation to defend by force what they had acquired with justice ; and, alarmed by the tidings of the massacre of their countrymen in Virginia, they erected a timber fort [1622], and adopted other prudent precautions for their security. This purchase from savages, who rather occasionally traversed than permanently occupied the territory, is perhaps the first instance on record of the entire prevalence of the principles of justice in a treaty between a civilized and a barbarous people.

The ecclesiastical constitution which the emigrants established was the same with that which had prevailed among them at Leyden ; and their system of civil government was founded on those ideas of the natural equality of men, to which their religious policy, so long the main object of their concern, had habituated their minds. The supreme legislative body was composed at first of all the freemen who were members of the church ; and it was not until the year 1639 that they established a house of representatives. The executive power was committed to a governor and council, annually elected by the members of the legislative assembly. Their jurisprudence was founded on the laws of England, with some diversity in the appreciation and punishment of crimes, wherein they approxi-

mated more nearly to the Mosaic institutions. Deeming the protection of morals more important than the preservation of wealth, they punished fornication with flogging, and adultery with death, — while on forgery they inflicted only a moderate fine. The clearing and cultivation of the ground, fishing, and the curing of fish for exportation, formed the temporal occupations of the colonists. The peculiarity of their situation naturally led them, like the Virginians, for some time to throw all their property into a common stock, and, like members of one family, to carry on every work of industry by their joint labor for the public behoof. But the religious zeal which promoted this self-denying policy was unable to overcome the difficulties which must always attend it, and which are peculiarly aggravated in a society deriving its principle of increment not so much from internal growth as from the confluence of strangers. About three years after the foundation of New Plymouth, it was judged proper to introduce separation of possessions, though the full right of separate property was not admitted till a much later period ; and even that first change is represented as having produced a great and manifest improvement of the industry of the people.¹

The slow increase, which, for a considerable period of time, the population of the colony exhibited, has been ascribed to the prolonged operation of this system of equality ; but it seems more likely that the slowness of the increase (occasioned by the poverty of the soil and the report of the hardships attending a settlement in New England) was itself the reason why the complete ascertainment of the rights of separate property was so long retarded. In the first society of men collected by the bond of Christianity, and additionally united by persecution, we find an attempt made to abolish individual property ; and from the apostolic direction, that *he who would not work should not eat*, we may conclude that the disadvantage, which the operation of this principle is exposed to in a society mainly deriving its increase from the accession of strangers of dissimilar characters, was pretty early experienced. In Paraguay, the Jesuits formed a settlement where this peculiar disadvantage

¹ Mather. Neal. Chalmers.

was not experienced, and which affords the only authenticated instance of the introduction and protracted endurance of a state of equality in a numerous society. But there the great fundamental difficulty was rather evaded than encountered, by a system of tuition, adapted, with exquisite skill, to confound all diversities of talent and disposition among the savage or barbarous natives in an unbounded and degrading dependence on their Jesuit instructors.

After remaining for some years without a patent legalizing their territorial occupation, the colonists, whose numbers now amounted to a hundred and eighty, employed one Pierce as their agent in England, to solicit a grant of this nature from the English government, and the Grand Council of Plymouth, — a new corporation, by which James, in the year 1620, had superseded the original Plymouth Company, and on which he conferred all the American territory lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. This corporate body continued to subsist for a considerable time, notwithstanding a vote of the House of Commons, in the year after its creation, declaring its privileges a public grievance, and its patent void. Pierce procured a charter from the council, and caused it to be framed in his own name, with the appropriation of large territories and privileges to himself and his family [1623]; but, having embarked with a numerous body of associates, whom he collected in England, and induced to accompany him, and assist in the prosecution of his ambitious designs, his vessel was shipwrecked, and Pierce himself so dismayed with the disastrous issue of his enterprise, that he made a public declaration of remorse, and resigned his unjust acquisition. The colonists, informed of their agent's treachery, despatched Winslow, one of their own number, to resume the solicitation for a charter. Winslow did not succeed in procuring a patent from the crown, but he obtained, after a long delay, a grant of land and a charter of privileges from the council. It was directed [Jan. 1630] to William Bradford, the existing governor; and the immunities it bestowed were appropriated to him, his heirs, associates, and assignees; but Bradford instantly sur-

¹ January, 1630.

rendered all that was personal in the charter and grant, and associated the general court of the freemen to the privileges it conferred.¹

By this charter of the Grand Council of Plymouth, the colonists were authorized to choose a governor, council, and general court, for the enactment and execution of laws instrumental to the public good. Some American historians have mistaken this charter for a patent from the crown. But no such patent was ever issued; and the social community of New Plymouth was never incorporated with due legal formality into a body politic, but remained a subordinate and voluntary municipal association, until it was united to its more powerful neighbour, the colony of Massachusetts. Both before and after the reception of their charter, the colonists were aware of the doubts that might be entertained of the validity of the acts of government which their magistrates exercised. This circumstance, perhaps, was not altogether unfavorable to the interests of the people, and may have contributed to the liberal principles and conciliatory strain by which the administration of their domestic government was honorably distinguished from that which afterwards unhappily prevailed among their neighbours in New England. But the soil around New Plymouth was so meagre, and the supplies received by the planters from Europe were so scanty and infrequent, that in the tenth year of their colonial existence their numbers did not exceed three hundred.² Their exertions, nevertheless, were productive of consequences most happy and interesting. They held up to the view of the oppressed Puritans in the parent state a retreat to which persecuted virtue might retire, and where only the enduring virtue which persecution had failed to conquer seemed capable of obtaining a permanent establishment. At the expense of the noblest sacrifices and most undaunted efforts, this handful of men laid the foundation of civilized and Christian society in New England. A few years after their arrival at New Plymouth, a messenger was despatched to this colony by the governor of the Dutch plantation on Hudson's River, with letters congratulating the English on their prosperous and commendable enter-

¹ Hazard. Chalmers. Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

² Neal. Chalmers. See Note V., at the end of the volume.

prise, tendering the good-will and friendly services of the Dutch, and proposing a commercial intercourse between the two settlements. The governor and council of Plymouth returned a courteous answer, expressing their grateful remembrance of the hospitality which they had received in the native country of the Dutch, and a willing acceptance of the proffered friendship.¹ Nothing farther ensued from this overture than a series of small commercial dealings, and an occasional interchange of similar civilities, which, but a few years after, gave place to the most inveterate jealousy, and a continual reciprocation of complaint and menace between the Dutch and English colonists.

Various attempts had latterly been made to emulate the successful establishment of New Plymouth ; but they had all failed, in consequence of the neglect or inability of their promoters to emulate the virtues from which the success of this colonial enterprise was derived. In the year 1622, a rival colony was planted in New England by one Weston, and a troop of disorderly adventurers, who, in spite of the friendly assistance of the settlers at New Plymouth, speedily sunk into a state of such misery and degradation, that several of them were reduced to become servants to the Indians ; some perished by hunger ; others betook themselves to robbery, and by their depredations involved both themselves and the colonists of New Plymouth in hostilities with the natives ; and the rest were glad to find their way back to Europe. In the following year, an attempt was made on a larger scale, under the patronage of the Grand Council of Plymouth, which bestowed on Captain Gorges, the leader of the expedition, the title of governor-general of New England, with an ample endowment of arbitrary power, and on a clergyman who accompanied him the office of bishop and superintendent of all churches in this quarter of America. But the condition of New England was very ill suited to the entertainment of such functionaries, and the introduction of such institutions ; and the governor and bishop, deserting their charge, made haste to return to a region more adapted to the culture of civil and ecclesiastical dignity. Of their followers, some

¹ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Neal.

retired to Virginia, and others returned to England.¹ At a later period [1626], a similar undertaking, conducted by Captain Wollaston, was attended with a repetition of the same disastrous issue. The followers of Wollaston first taught the savage inhabitants of this part of America the use of firearms, — a lesson which ere long the colonists of New England had abundant reason to deplore.² All these unsuccessful plantations were attempted on land more fertile, and in situations more commodious, than the settlers at New Plymouth enjoyed. The scene of their brief and unprosperous existence was the coast of Massachusetts Bay, where, a few years later, a colony, which was formed after the model and principles of the society at New Plymouth, and whose origin now claims our attention, afforded the second example of a successful establishment in New England.

The reign of Charles the First was destined to produce the consummation and the retribution of royal and ecclesiastical tyranny. Charles committed the government of the English church to men who openly professed the most arbitrary principles, and whose sentiments far more inclined them to promote an approximation to the rites and practices of the church of Rome than to mediate an agreement among the professors of the Protestant faith. Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury, being restrained by the liberality of his principles and the

¹ The most important act of Captain Gorges' administration, that has been transmitted to us, is one which affords an explanation of a passage in *Hudibras*, where the New Englanders are accused of hanging an innocent, but bedrid, weaver, instead of a guilty, but useful, cobbler: —

“That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints is a plain case.
Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need, —
As lately happened. In a town
There lived a cobbler,” &c.

Hudibras.

Some of Gorges's people had committed depredations on the Indians, who insisted that the ringleader should be put to death. Gorges satisfied and deceived them by hanging up either a dying man or a dead body. Hutchinson. Butler's witty malice, studious to defame the Puritans, has rescued from oblivion an act, of which the whole merit or demerit is exclusively due to his own party. Morrell, the clergyman who accompanied Gorges, notwithstanding his disappointment, conceived a very favorable opinion of New England, which he expressed in an elegant Latin poem descriptive of the country. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

² Neal. Oldmixon (2d edit.).

mildness of his temper from lending his instrumentality to the views of the court, was treated with harshness, and, at length, finally suspended from his office [1627], of which the functions were committed to a board of prelates, of whom the most eminent was Laud, who afterwards succeeded to the primacy. From this period, both in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of the realm, a system of deliberate and insolent invasion of every right most valued by freemen and most revered by Protestants was pursued with a stubborn pride, folly, and cruelty, that at length exhausted the patience of the English people. To the historian of England the political abuses that distinguished this period will probably appear the most interesting features in its history ; and, doubtless, they contributed at least as powerfully as any other cause to the production of the ensuing scene of civil rage and warfare. But, as it was the ecclesiastical administration that mainly conduced to the peopling of America, it is this branch of the English history that chiefly merits our attention, in investigating the sources of the colonization of New England.

Not only were the ancient ceremonial observances, which long oppression had rendered so obnoxious, exacted with additional rigor from the increasing numbers of the Puritans, but new and more offensive rites were added to the ecclesiastical canons. A design seems to have been formed of enabling the church of England to vie with the Romish see in splendid pageantry, elaborate ceremonial, and temporal power. Laud, indeed, boasted that he had refused the offer of a cardinal's hat from Rome ; but the offer was justly considered a more significant circumstance than the refusal ; and, having already assumed to himself the papal title of *His Holiness*, which he substituted in place of *His Grace*, his titular style would have been lowered instead of elevated by the Romish promotion which he rejected. The communion table was converted into an altar, and all persons were commanded to bow to it on entering the church. [1627.] All the week-day lectures, and all afternoon sermons on Sunday, were abolished ; and, instead of them, games and sports were permitted to all the people, "*excepting known recusants*," who were thus, with matchless absurdity, penally debarred from practices which they regarded

with the utmost detestation. Every minister was commanded, under pain of deprivation of his benefice, to read from the pulpit a royal proclamation recommendatory of games and sports on Sunday. This ordinance, like all the other novelties, was productive of the greater dissatisfaction, from the extent to which Puritan sentiments had penetrated into the church, and the number of Puritan ministers within the establishment whom habit had taught to fluctuate between the fulfilment and the evasion of the ancient obnoxious canons, and trained partially to submit, without at all reconciling to the burden. Nothing could be more ill-timed than an aggravation of the load under which these men were laboring ; it reduced many to despair, inflamed others with vindictive resentment, and deprived the church of a numerous body of her most zealous and most popular ministers. Nor were these the only measures of the day that were calculated to excite discontents within as well as without the pale of the ecclesiastical establishment. Three fourths of the English clergy were Calvinists ; yet Laud and the ruling prelates, who were Arminians, caused a royal edict to be issued against the promulgation of the Calvinistic tenets ; and while the Arminian pulpits resounded with the sharpest invectives against these tenets, a single sentence that could be construed into their defence exposed the preacher to the undefined and arbitrary penalty attached to contempt of the king's authority.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the Churchmen were eager to shift from themselves upon the courts of common law as great a portion as they could of the odium of administering the ecclesiastical statutes. But Laud and his associates, inaccessible to fear, remorse, or shame, courted a monopoly of the function and repute of persecution ; and in the Court of High Commission exercised such arbitrary power, and committed such enormous cruelty, as procured to this odious tribunal the name of the *Protestant Inquisition*. Fines, imprisonment, banishment, the pillory, were the most lenient of the punishments inflicted by the judges who presided in it. Its victims were frequently condemned to have their flesh torn from their bodies by the lash of the executioner, their nostrils slit, and their ears cut off ; and in this condition were exhibited to the peo-

ple as monuments of what was termed the righteous justice of their sovereign and the holy zeal of the prelates. Of the extent to which this tyrannical policy was carried some notion may be formed from the accounts that have been transmitted to us of the proceedings within the diocese of Norwich alone. In the articles of impeachment subsequently exhibited against Bishop Wren, it is affirmed, that, during his possession of that diocese, which lasted only for two years and a half, fifty ministers were ejected from their pulpits for not complying with the prescribed innovations, and three thousand of the laity were compelled to abandon the kingdom.¹

Consonant with the ecclesiastical was the civil policy of Charles's government. Parliamentary taxation was superseded by royal imposts; the tenure of judicial office was altered from the good behaviour of the judges to the arbitrary pleasure of the king; every organ of liberty was suspended or perverted; and the kingdom at length subjected to the exclusive dominion of a stern and uncontrolled prerogative. Insult was employed, as if purposely to stimulate the sensibility which injuries might not have sufficiently awakened. A clergyman having alleged, in a sermon which he preached before the court, that his Majesty's simple requisition of money from his subjects obliged them to comply with it "under pain of eternal damnation," Charles at first coldly remarked that he owed the man no thanks for giving the king his due; but when the discourse attracted a censure of the House of Commons, its author was forthwith accounted a proper object of royal favor, and promoted, first to a valuable benefice, and afterwards to a bishopric.² A system of such diffusive and exasperating insolence and violence, employed by the government against a numerous and increasing body of the people, needed only sufficient duration to provoke from general rage a vindictive retribution, the more to be dreaded from the patience with which the heavy arrear of injury had been endured and permitted to accumulate. But before this tyrannical system had time to mature the growing discontents, and to produce extremities so perilous to the moderation and humanity of all

¹ Neal.

² Sanderson's *Life of Charles the First*. Rushworth's *Hist. Collect.*

who were to abide them, it was destined to inspire efforts of nobler energy and purer virtue ; much good was to be educed from the scene of evil and disorder ; and great and happy consequences were yet to be engendered by the steady and beneficent dominion of Providence over the malevolent and irregular passions of men.

The severities exercised on the Puritans in England, and the gradual extinction of their fondly cherished hopes of a mitigation of ecclesiastical rigor, had for some time directed their thoughts to that distant territory in which their brethren at New Plymouth had achieved a secure establishment and attained the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. In the last year of James's reign [1625], a few Non-conformist families removed to New England and took possession of a corner of Massachusetts Bay ; but being disappointed in the hope they had entertained of the accession of a sufficient number of associates to secure the formation of a permanent settlement, they were on the point of returning to Britain, when they received the agreeable intelligence of the approach of a numerous reinforcement. White, a Non-conformist minister at Dorchester, conceived the project of a new settlement on the shore of Massachusetts Bay ; and by his zeal and activity he succeeded in forming an association of a number of the gentry in his neighbourhood who cherished Puritan opinions, for the purpose of conducting a colony to that region. The views and sentiments that actuated the leaders of this enterprise were committed to writing, and circulated among their friends under the title of *General Considerations for the Plantation of New England*.

The authors of this remarkable proclamation began by alluding to the progress of the Jesuit establishments in South America ; and expatiated on the duty and advantage of counteracting the influence of these institutions by the introduction of a purer system of Christianity into that quarter of the world. They observed that all the other churches of Europe had been brought under desolation ; that the same fate seemed to impend over the church of England ; and that it might reasonably be supposed that the Deity had provided the unoccupied territory of America as a land of refuge for those of

his people yet inhabiting the scene of approaching convulsion, whom he purposed to snatch from its dangerous vortex. England, they remarked, grew weary of her inhabitants ; insomuch that man, the most precious of all creatures, was there reckoned more vile and base than the earth he trod on ; and children and friends (if unwealthy) were accounted a burdensome incumbrance, instead of being prized and relished as the choicest of earthly blessings. A taste for expensive living, they added, prevailed so strongly among their countrymen, and the means of indulging it had become so exclusively the object of men's desires, that all arts and trades were tainted by sordid maxims and dishonest practices ; and the English seminaries of learning abounded with so many spectacles and temptations of dissolute irregularity, that vice was there more effectually communicated by example than knowledge and virtue were imparted by precept. "The whole earth," they declared, "is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them. Why, then, should any stand starving here for places of habitation, and in the mean time suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste without any improvement ?" They concluded by adverting to the situation of the colony of New Plymouth, and strongly urged the duty of supporting the infant church which had there been so happily planted.

Actuated by such views, these magnanimous projectors purchased from the Council of Plymouth all the territory extending in length from three miles north of the River Merrimac to three miles south of Charles River, and in breadth from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. [1628.] Their measures were as vigorous as their designs were elevated. As the precursors of the main body of emigrants whom it was intended to transport, a small troop of planters and servants were despatched under John Endicott, one of the leading projectors, who, arriving safely in Massachusetts, were cordially greeted and kindly assisted by the colonists of New Plymouth, and laid the foundations of a town, which they denominated Salem, from a Hebrew word that signifies *peace*.¹ [1628.]

¹ Mather. Neal. An earlier writer than these has described Endicott as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work ; of courage bold, undaunted,

But all the ardor and enthusiasm of these adventurers could not blind them to the perception of their inability to maintain effectual possession of the extensive territory that was ceded to them, without the participation of more opulent co-adjutors in the enterprise ; of whom, chiefly by the influence and activity of White, they were enabled to procure a sufficient number in London, among the commercial men who openly professed, or secretly favored, the tenets of the Puritans. These auxiliaries brought an accession of prudent forecast, as well as of pecuniary resources, to the conduct of the design ; and justly doubting the expediency of founding a colony on the basis of a grant from a company of patentees, who might, indeed, convey a right of property in the soil, but could not confer municipal jurisdiction, or the privilege of governing the society which it was proposed to establish, they persuaded their associates to unite with them in an application to the crown for a royal charter.

The readiness with which this application was granted [4th March, 1629], and the liberal tenor of the charter which was obtained, are perfectly unaccountable, except on the supposition that the king and his counsellors were willing, at this season, even at the expense of some concessions to the Puritans, to disencumber the realm, in which they were preparing to introduce the ecclesiastical innovations to which we have already adverted, of a body of men from whom the most unbending opposition to the new measures might be expected ; a politic design which appears sufficiently credible ; although, at a subsequent period, Charles and his ministers resorted to an opposite line of policy, when they were sensible of the reflective influence exercised on the Puritan body in England by the spread and predominance of their tenets in America. It seems impossible, on any other supposition, to account for the remarkable facts, that, at the very time when this monarch was

yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving, or austere, as occasion served." Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence in New England*. (London, 1654.) This contemporary historian of the first emigrations from Britain to New England represents their leaders as "gentlemen of good estate and reputation, descendants or connections of noble families ; having large means, and great yearly revenue, sufficient in all reason to content ; wanting nothing of a worldly nature which could contribute to the pleasures, the prospects, or the splendor of life."

sanctioning the exercise of despotic authority in Virginia, he extended to a colony of Puritans a constitution containing all the immunities of which the Virginians were divested ; and that, well aware of the purpose of the applicants to escape from the constitutions of the church of England, he granted them a charter containing ample commendation of the religious ends they had in view, without the imposition of a single ordinance respecting the system of their church government, or the forms and ceremonies of their worship. Nay, so completely did he surrender the maxims of his colonial policy to the demands of the projectors of a Puritan settlement, that, although he had recently declared, in a public proclamation, that a mercantile company was utterly unfit to administer the affairs of a remote colony ; yet, on the present occasion, he scrupled not, in compliance with the wishes of the mercantile portion of the adventurers, to commit the supreme direction of the colony, which was to be planted in the province of Massachusetts Bay, to a corporation consisting chiefly of merchants resident in London.

The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic ; and their right to the territory which they had purchased from the Council of Plymouth being confirmed by the king, they were empowered to dispose of the soil, and to govern the people who should settle upon it. Among other patentees specially named in this charter were Sir Henry Rosewell, one of the earliest promoters of the design ; Sir Richard Saltonstall, the descendant of an ancient family in Northamptonshire ; Isaac Johnson, son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln ; John Ven, a distinguished citizen of London, and commemorated by Clarendon, as *leading the city after him in seditious remonstrances* ; and Samuel Vassal,¹ who was afterwards member

¹ From the monument erected to the memory of this man by his great-grandson at Boston, it appears that he was the son of the gallant John Vassal, who, in 1588, at his own expense, equipped and commanded two ships of war against the Spanish Armada. The son, exerting himself as strenuously against domestic tyranny as the father had done against foreign invasion, was deprived of his liberty and of the greater part of his fortune by the Court of Star Chamber. The Long Parliament voted him upwards of £10,000, as a compensation for his losses, and resolved that his personal sufferings should be further considered. "But the rage of the times," says his epitaph, "and the neglect of proper application since, have left to his family only the honor of that vote and resolution." — Dodsley's *Annual Register*, 1766.

of parliament for London, and had already signalized himself by a strenuous opposition to the arbitrary collection of tonnage and poundage. The first governor of the company and the first members of a council of assistants were named by the king ; the right of electing their successors was vested in the freemen of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and council ; the legislative, to the body of freemen, who were empowered to enact statutes and ordinances for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England. The adventurers obtained the same temporary exemption that had been granted to the Virginian company from duties on goods exported or imported ; and it was declared, that, notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants should be entitled to all the rights of home-born subjects of England.¹

The meaning of this charter, with respect to the ecclesiastical rights of the colonists of Massachusetts, has been made the subject of much controversial discussion. By the Puritans and the Puritan writers of that age, it was sincerely believed, and confidently maintained, that the intendment of the charter was to bestow on the colonists unrestricted liberty to regulate their ecclesiastical estate by the dictates of their own judgments and consciences.² The grantors were fully aware, and the grantees had neither the wish nor the power to conceal, that the object of the intending emigrants was to make a peaceable secession from a church which they could no longer conscientiously adhere to, and to establish for themselves, at Massachusetts Bay, an ecclesiastical constitution similar to that which was already created and supported without objection at New Plymouth. A silent acquiescence in such designs was all that could reasonably be expected from the king and his ministers ; and when this emphatic silence, on a point which could not but be intimately present to the thoughts of both parties, is coupled with the king's ready departure, on the same occasion, from all the arbitrary principles which he was preparing to enforce in every other branch of his domestic and

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson's *Collection of Massachusetts Papers*. Hazard. Oldmixon (2d edit.).

² Mather. Neal. Neal's *History of the Puritans*.

colonial administration, it seems to follow, by inevitable inference, that Charles was at this time not unwilling to make a partial sacrifice of authority, in order to rid himself of those Puritan petitioners ; and that the interpretation which they gave to their charter was perfectly correct. And yet writers have not been wanting, whom enmity to the Puritans has induced to explain this charter in a manner totally repugnant to every rule of legal or equitable construction. It is a maxim of English law, and the dictate of common sense and universal equity, that, in all cases where the import of a compact is doubtful, the bias of presumptive construction ought to incline against the pretensions of that party whose office it was to speak, and who had the power to clear every ambiguity away. In defiance of this rule, those writers have insisted that the silence of the charter respecting the ecclesiastical state of the colony implied the imposition on the colonists of every particular ordinance and institution of the church of England. The most eminent writer of this party has taken occasion from hence to reproach the colonists of Massachusetts Bay with having laid the foundations of their church establishment in fraud. “ *Without regard,*” says this distinguished author, “ *to the sentiments of that monarch,* under the sanction of whose authority they settled in America, and from whom they derived right to act as a body politic, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that none of their acts or ordinances should be inconsistent, they adopted in their infant church that form of policy which has since been distinguished by the name of Independent.” He accounts for the pretermission in the charter of a particular which was unquestionably uppermost in the minds of both parties, by remarking, that “ the king seems not to have foreseen, nor to have suspected, the secret intentions of those who projected the measure ” ; and he explains the conduct of the colonists, by pronouncing that they were “ animated with a spirit of innovation in civil policy as well as in religion.”¹ But surely no impartial inquirer will ever esteem it a reproach to the Puritans, driven by persecution from their native land, that they

¹ Robertson's *History of America*, B. x.

did not cross the Atlantic Ocean and settle in a desert for the purpose, or with the intention, of cultivating a more perfect conformity with the principles and policy of their oppressor. The provision in their charter, that the laws to be enacted by them should not be repugnant to the jurisprudence of England, could never be understood to enjoin any thing farther than a general conformity with the legislation of the parent state, suitable to the acknowledged dependence of the colony on the main trunk of the British dominions. The unsuspecting ignorance, too, that is imputed to the king and his counsellors, appears quite incredible, when we consider that the example of New Plymouth, where a bare exemption from express restrictions had been followed by the establishment of an Independent church, was fresh in their recollection ; that they were avowed and notorious Puritans who now applied for permission to repair to the land where that constitution was established ; and above all, that, in their application to the king, they expressly desired leave to withdraw in peace from the bosom of a church to whose ordinances they confessed that they could not conscientiously conform.¹ Whether the king and Laud were or were not aware of the intentions of the Puritans, they must surely be regarded as the best judges of the extent of concession which they themselves intended to convey ; and by their acquiescence in the constitution which the planters of Massachusetts Bay forthwith established, they ratified a practical interpretation of the charter in conformity with the views of the Puritans, and confessed that this proceeding imported no violation either of general law or particular paction. When they afterwards became sensible that the progress of Puritan establishments in New England increased the ferment which their own measures were creating in the parent state, they interposed to check the intercourse between the two countries ; but yet tacitly acknowledged that the intolerant system which they pursued in England was excluded by understood compact from the colonial territory.

Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony was rendered complete by the royal charter [1st May, 1629],

¹ Mather.

they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous Puritans, accompanied by some eminent Non-conformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconvenience of a long voyage to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and the formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the barbarous land where so many preceding emigrants had found an untimely grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, supported by the worth and dignity of the design which they were combined to accomplish. Their hearts were knit to each other by community of generous purpose; and they experienced none of those jealousies which invariably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among persons unequally qualified to promote the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers;¹ but it had long ceased to wear towards them a benign or paternal countenance; and in forsaking it they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which Christians and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom by kindling and preserving there the sacred fire of religion and liberty, which regal and pontifical tyranny was striving to extinguish in the shrines of England, whence they carried its embers.² They confidently believed that the religious and political tenets which had languished under a protracted persecution in Europe would now, at length, shine forth in their full lustre in America. Establishing an asylum where the professors of these doctrines might at all times find shelter, they justly expected to

¹ Francis Higginson, one of the most able, devout, and popular ministers in England, was a passenger in this fleet. When he perceived that he was taking his last look of the English coast, he summoned his children and the other passengers to the deck of the vessel, and said to them, "We will not say, as the separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome!' But we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the church of God in England, and all Christian friends there! We separate not from the church of England, but from its corruptions. We go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America."

² Even the pious George Herbert, though devotedly attached to royalty and the church of England, thus expressed himself at this period in his *Temple of Sacred Poems*:—

"Religion stands a-tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand."

derive continual accessions to the vigor of their own principles from the fresh arrival of succeeding emigrants, willing, like them, to transplant their uprooted patriotic affection to a soil where it might flourish in alliance with the cultivation and enjoyment of truth and liberty. They did not postpone the practice of piety till the conclusion of their voyage ; but, occupied continually with the exercises of devotion, they caused the ocean which they traversed to resound with unwonted acclaim of praise and thanksgiving to its Creator. The seamen, catching their spirit, readily joined in all their religious exercises and ordinances, and expressed their belief that they had practised the first voluntary *sea-fasts* that had ever been performed in the world. After a prosperous voyage, the emigrants had the satisfaction of reuniting themselves to their friends already established at Salem under John Endicott, who had been appointed deputy-governor of the colony.¹ [June 24, 1629.]

To the assemblage of men thus collected the formation of a church appeared the most interesting of all their concerns, and it occupied, accordingly, their earliest and earnest deliberation. They had been advised to discuss and settle, before their departure from England, the form of church government which was to be established in the colony ; but, neglecting this advice, they had proceeded no farther than to express their general assent to the principle, that *the reformation of the church was to be attempted according to the written word of God*. They now applied to their brethren at New Plymouth, and desired to be acquainted with the grounds of the constitution which was there adopted ; and, having heard these fully explained, and devoted some time to a diligent comparison of the model with the warrants of Scripture which were cited in its vindication, and earnestly besought the enlightening aid of that Being who alone can teach his creatures how to worship him in an acceptable manner, they declared their entire approbation of the sister church, and closely copied her structure in the composition of their own. [Aug. 6, 1629.] They united together in religious society by a covenant, in which, after a

¹ Mather. Neal. Eliot's *New England Biography*. Walton's *Life of Herbert*.

solemn dedication of themselves to live in the fear of God, and practise a strict conformity to his will, so far as he should be pleased to reveal it to them, they engaged to each other to cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse ; to repress jealousies, suspicions, and secret emotions of spleen ; and, in all cases of offence, to suffer, forbear, and forgive, after the example of their divine pattern. They promised in the congregation to restrain the indulgence of a vain-glorious forwardness to display their gifts ; and in their intercourse, whether with sister churches or with the mass of mankind, to study a conversation remote from offence and from every appearance of evil. They engaged, by a dutiful obedience to all who should be set over them in church or commonwealth, to encourage them to a faithful discharge of their functions ; and they expressed their resolution to approve themselves, in their particular callings, the stewards and servants of God ; shunning idleness as the bane of every community, and dealing hardly or oppressively with none of the human race. The system of ecclesiastical policy and discipline which they adopted was that which distinguished the churches of the Independents, and which we have already had occasion to consider. The form of public worship which they instituted rejected a liturgy and every superfluous ceremony, and was adapted to the strictest standard of Calvinistic simplicity. They elected a pastor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they consecrated to their respective offices by imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were on that occasion admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of faith digested by their teachers, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as Christians ; and it was established as an ordinance, that no person should thereafter be permitted to subscribe the covenant, or be received into communion with the church, until he had satisfied the elders with respect to the soundness of his faith and the purity of his conduct.¹

The constitution, of which we have now beheld an abstract, and especially the covenant or social engagement so fraught

¹ Mather. Neal.

with sentiments of exalted piety and genuine benevolence, has excited the derision of some writers, who refuse to regard the speculative liberality which it indicates in any other point of view than as contrasted with the practical intolerance which the framers of it soon after displayed. But however agreeable this aspect may be to eyes that watch for the follies and frailties of the wise and good, it is not the only light in which the transaction we have now considered will present itself to humane and liberal minds. Philosophy admits that the human soul is enlarged and ennobled by the mere purpose of excellence ; and religion has pronounced that even those designs which men are not able or worthy to accomplish may beneficially affect the minds that have sincerely entertained them. The error of the inhabitants of Salem was a universal trait and feature of the era to which they belonged ; the virtues they demonstrated were peculiar to themselves and their Puritan brethren.

In the ecclesiastical constitution which they established, and the sentiments and purposes which they declaratively interwove with it, they rendered a sincere and laudable homage to the rights of conscience and the requirements of piety ; and these principles, no doubt, exercised a beneficial influence on the practice, which, unhappily, they did not entirely control. The influence of principles that tend to the restraint of human ferocity and intolerance is frequently invisible to mortal eyes, because it is productive chiefly of negative consequences ; and when great provocation or alarm has prompted the professors of those principles to violate the relative restraint, they will be judged with little candor, if charity neglect to supply the imperfection of that knowledge to which we are limited by the narrow and partial range of our view, and to suggest the secret and difficult forbearance which may have preceded the visible action which we condemn or deplore. In the very first instance of intolerant proceeding with which the adversaries of the Puritans have reproached this American community, the influence of genuine piety in mitigating human impatience was strikingly apparent. It is a notable fact, that, although these emigrants were collected from a body of men embracing such diversity of opinion respecting church government and the rites

of worship as then prevailed among the Puritans of England, and though they had landed in America without having previously ascertained how far they were likely to agree on this very point, for the sake of which they incurred banishment from their native country, the constitution which was copied from the church of New Plymouth gave satisfaction to almost every individual among them.

Two brothers, however, of the name of Brown, one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of note and among the number of the original patentees, dissented from this constitution, and arguing, with great absurdity, that all who adhered to it would infallibly become Anabaptists, endeavoured to procure converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation, on a model more approximated to the forms of the church of England. The defectiveness of their argument was supplied by the vehemence of their clamor; and they obtained a favorable audience from a few persons who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the provincial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the rules of morality. Endicott, the governor, called those men, together with the ministers, before a general assembly of the people, who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system that had been established; and, as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavoured to excite a mutiny against the government, they were declared unfit to remain in the colony, and compelled to reëmbark and depart in the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England.¹ Their departure restored harmony to the colonists, who were endeavouring to complete their settlement and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter, and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one half of their number, but produced no other change on their minds than to

¹ Mather. Neal. On their return to England, they preferred a complaint against the colonists of oppressive demeanour to themselves and enmity to the church of England. The total disregard which their complaint experienced (Chalmers) strongly confirms the opinion I have expressed of the understanding of all parties with regard to the real import of the charter.

cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence.

Notwithstanding the censure with which some writers have commented on the banishment of the two individuals whose case we have remarked, the justice of the proceeding must commend itself to the sentiments of all impartial men; nor would it have been necessary to advert to the charge of intolerance to which the colonists have been exposed, if their conduct had never given juster occasion to it. But, unfortunately, a great proportion of the Puritans at this period were deeply infected with the prevalent error of their age,¹ and regarded as impossible the peaceable coëxistence of different sects in the same community, — a notion strongly confirmed, if not originally suggested to them, by the treatment which they received from their adversaries. If it was reasonably incumbent on men, who were themselves the victims of persecution, to abstain from what their own experience had feelingly shown them to be hateful and odious, it was natural that these men, flying to deserts for the sake of particular practices and opinions, should desire and expect to see the objects of their painful sacrifice flourish unmolested and undisputed in the scene of their retirement. The sufferings they had endured from their adversaries they considered as the legitimate consequence of the pernicious errors that these adversaries had imbibed; and they customarily regarded their opponents as the enemies of their persons, as well as persecutors of their tenets. The activity of government in support of a system of religious doctrines they were far from condemning in the abstract. They admitted the pro-

¹ The richest endowment of reason could not exempt the most distinguished of modern philosophers from intolerance; nor could the experience of persecution always demonstrate its injustice even to its own victims. Lord Bacon considered that uniformity in religious sentiment and worship was essential to the support of government, and that no toleration could with safety be granted to sectaries. Bacon, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*. During the administration of Cromwell, a Presbyterian minister, who had himself felt the rod of persecution, published a treatise against what he was pleased to term "*this cursed intolerable toleration*." Orme's *Life of Owen*.

To the objection, that persecution tends to make men hypocrites, an eminent minister in New England answered, "Better tolerate hypocrites and tares, than briars and thorns." Another, in a work published in 1645, thus expresses himself: "It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance." — Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*.

priety of such interposition, and condemned it only when it seemed to them erroneously directed. Even when oppressed themselves, they exclaimed against indiscriminate toleration. They contradicted so far their own principles ; and maintained that human beings might and ought to punish what God alone could correct and alter. Some of them, it is true, had already anticipated the sentiments by which at a later period the Independents were generally characterized, and which induced them to reject all connection between church and state, and disallow the competence of interposing magisterial authority to sustain one church or to suppress or discourage another.

But very opposite sentiments prevailed among the bulk of the colonists of Massachusetts, who came to America fresh from the influence of persecution, and had not, like their brethren at New Plymouth, the advantage of an intermediate residence in a land where (to a certain extent, at least¹) a peaceful coëxistence of different sects was demonstrated to be not merely practicable, but signally promotive of the most excellent graces of Christian character. Much might be urged, and will doubtless suggest itself to every liberal mind, in extenuation of their error, of which the bitter leaven continued long to disturb their peace and felicity. But indulgence must not be confounded with approval ; and the considerations which may be allowed to mitigate our censure of the intolerant spirit which these people displayed can never entitle this spirit to the commendation of virtue. It was sharpened by the copious infusions which the colony received of the feelings excited in England by the increased severity of persecution, from which the victims began to fly in increasing numbers to America.

The British empire in America underwent, about this period, some vicissitudes, which in after years affected materially the prosperity both of New England and of the other colonial establishments in the same quarter of the world. The war which the king so wantonly declared against France in 1627, and which produced only disgrace and disaster to his arms in Europe, was attended with events of a very different complexion

¹ It was not till the year 1619 (the year preceding the departure of the Plymouth settlers from Leyden), that the sanguinary persecution of the Arminians, to which I have already alluded, occurred in Holland.

in America. Sir David Kirk, having obtained a commission to attack the American dominions of France, invaded Canada in the summer of 1628 ; and so successful was the enterprise, that in July, 1629, Quebec was reduced to surrender to the arms of England. Thus was the capital of New France subdued by the English, about one hundred and thirty years before they achieved its final conquest by the sword of Wolfe. But the important tidings had not been received in Europe when peace was reëstablished between France and England ; and Charles, by the subsequent treaty of St. Germain, not only restored this valuable acquisition to France, but expressed the cession in terms of such extensive application, as undeniably inferred a recognition of the French, and a surrender of the British claims to the province of Nova Scotia.¹ This arrangement portended vexation and injury to the settlements of the English ; and the sequel of our narrative will demonstrate how fully the sinister portent was accomplished.

¹ Champlain's *Voyage*. Oldmixon. Chalmers. "It is remarkable," says Professor Kalm, "that the French were doubtful whether they should reclaim Canada from the English, or leave it to them. Many were of opinion that it was better to keep the people in France, and employ them in all sorts of manufactures, which would oblige the other European powers who had colonies in America to bring their raw goods to French ports, and take French manufactures in return." But the prevalent opinion was, that the reclamation and retention of Canada would promote the naval power of France, and was necessary to counterbalance the rising colonial empire of England. — Kalm's *Travels in North America*.

CHAPTER II.

The Charter Government transferred from England to Massachusetts. — Numerous Emigration. — Foundation of Boston. — Hardships endured by the new Settlers. — Disfranchisement of Dissenters in the Colony. — Influence of the provincial Clergy. — John Cotton and his Colleagues and Successors. — Williams's Schism — he founds Providence. — Representative Assembly established in Massachusetts. — Arrival of Hugh Peters — and Henry Vane, who is elected Governor. — Foundation of Connecticut — and New Haven. — War with the Pequod Indians. — Severities exercised by the victorious Colonists. — Disturbances created by Mrs. Hutchinson. — Colonization of Rhode Island — and of New Hampshire and Maine. — Jealousy and fluctuating Conduct of the King. — Measures adopted against the Liberties of Massachusetts — interrupted by the Civil Wars. — State of New England — Population — Laws — Manners.

THE directors of the New England Company in Britain now exerted the utmost diligence to reinforce the colony they had founded with a numerous body of additional settlers. [1629.] Their designs were promoted by the rigor and intolerance of Laud's administration, which progressively multiplying the hardships imposed on all Englishmen who scrupled entire conformity to his ecclesiastical ordinances, proportionably diminished, in their estimation, the danger and hardships attending a removal to America. Many people began to treat with the company for a settlement in New England; and several of those new adventurers were persons of distinguished family and opulent estate. But foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative authority in Britain, they demanded, as a previous condition of their emigration, that the chartered rights and all the powers of government should be transferred to New England, and exercised within the territory of the colony. The directors of the company, who had incurred a considerable expense, with little prospect of speedy remuneration, were willing to secure the settlement of so many wealthy and respectable colonists in their domains, even at the expense of the surrender that was demanded from them; but, doubting

its legality, they thought proper to consult lawyers of eminence on the subject. Unaccountable as it must appear to every person in the slightest degree conversant with legal considerations, the lawyers who were consulted declared an opinion favorable to the wishes of the emigrants ; and accordingly it was determined, by general consent, "that the charter should be transferred, and the government be settled in New England." [29th Aug., 1629.] To the existing members of the corporation who should still remain in Britain was reserved a share in the trade, stock, and profits of the company, for the term of seven years.¹ By this transaction, — one of the most singular that is recorded in the history of a civilized people, — were the municipal rights and liberties of the inhabitants of New England established on a firm and respectable basis.

When we consider the means by which this was accomplished, we find ourselves beset with doubts and difficulties, of which the only rational solution that presents itself is the supposition we have already adopted, that the king was at this time exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the Puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them, that, if they would withdraw to some other part of his dominions, and employ their energies in subduing the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations in England, they should have permission to arrange the structure, civil and ecclesiastical, of their provincial commonwealth, according to their own discretion. An English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts ; and this was openly transacted by men whose principles rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to their rulers, and under the eyes of a prince no less vigilant to mark, than prompt to repress, every encroachment on the limits of his prerogative. So far was Charles from entertaining the slightest dissatisfaction at this proceeding, or from desiring, at the present period of his reign, to obstruct the removal of the Puritans to New England, that about two years after this signal change was carried into effect, when a complaint of arbitrary and illegal measures was

¹ Mather. Hutchinson.

preferred against the colony by a Roman Catholic who had been banished from it, and who was supported by Sir Ferdinando Gorges,—the king, after a deliberate examination of the case in the privy council, issued a proclamation not only justifying but commending the whole conduct of the provincial government, reprobating the prevalent reports that he “had no good opinion of that plantation,” and engaging not only to maintain the privileges of its inhabitants, but to supply whatever else might contribute to their farther comfort and prosperity.¹

From the terms of this document (of which no notice is taken by the writers inimical to the Puritans), and from the whole complexion of the king’s conduct towards the founders of this settlement, it would appear, that, whatever designs he might secretly cherish of adding the subjugation of New England, at a future period, to that of his British and Virginian dominions, his policy at the present time was, to persuade the leaders of the Puritans, that, if they would peaceably abandon the contest for their principles in England, they were at liberty to embody and enjoy them in whatever institutions they might think fit to establish in America. And yet some writers²—whom it is impossible to tax with ignorance, as they had access to all the existing materials of information,—whom it might justly be reckoned presumptuous to charge with defect of discernment,—and whom it may, perhaps, appear uncharitable to reproach with malignity towards the Puritans—have not scrupled to accuse the founders of this colony of pursuing their purposes by a policy not less impudent than fraudulent, and by acts of disobedience little short of rebellion. The colonists themselves, notwithstanding all the facilities which the king presented to them, and the unwonted liberality and consideration with which he showed himself willing to grace their departure from Britain, were so fully persuaded of his rooted enmity to their principles, and so little able to reconcile his present demeanour with his favorite policy, that they openly declared they had been conducted by Providence to a land of rest, through ways which they were contented to admire with-

¹ Neal.

² Chalmers. Robertson.

out comprehending ; and that they could ascribe the blessings they obtained to nothing else than the special interposition of that Being who orders all the steps of his people, and holds the hearts of kings, as of all men, in his hands. It is, indeed, a strange coincidence, that this arbitrary prince, at the very time when he was oppressing the royalists in Virginia, should have been cherishing the principles of liberty among the Puritans in New England.

Having achieved this important innovation in the structure of their political system, the adventurers proceeded with equal prudence and vigor to execute the ulterior designs which they had undertaken. By a general court of assembly, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy-governor ; eighteen counsellors, or assistants, were also chosen ; and in these functionaries, together with the whole body of freemen residing in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company. So active was the spirit of emigration, that, in the course of the ensuing year [1630], above fifteen hundred settlers, among whom were several wealthy and high-born persons, both men and women, who expressed their determination to follow truth and liberty into a desert, rather than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world under the dominion of superstition and slavery, set sail from Britain aboard a fleet of seventeen ships for New England. [July 6.] Among them there came Nathaniel Rogers (and his family), a clergyman of Ipswich, in Suffolk ; the lineal descendant of that excellent Rogers, who, burned at Smithfield under Mary's reign, attained the highest fame in English martyrology. On their arrival at Salem, many of them were so displeased with its local circumstances, that they explored the country in quest of more agreeable stations ; and, settling in various places around the adjacent bay, according to their particular predilections, laid the foundation of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and other societies, which have since expanded into considerable towns. In each of these settlements, a church was established on the same model with that of Salem. This concernment, together with the care of providing for their subsistence during winter, afforded ample occupation to the

emigrants for several months after their arrival. The approach of winter was attended with a repetition of those trials and distresses, through the ordeal of which every band of European settlers in New England was long fated to pass. Afflicted with severe scarcity, which all the generous contributions of the other settlements in the province could but slightly alleviate, — attacked with various distempers, the consequence of hunger, cold, and the peculiarities of a soil and climate uncongenial to constitutions formed in Europe, — and lodged for the most part in booths and tents that afforded but imperfect protection from the weather, — great numbers of the new colonists were speedily carried to the grave. “Many,” says Cotton Mather, “merely took New England in their way to heaven.” But the noble determination of spirit which had impelled them to emigrate preserved all its force ; the survivors endured their calamities with unshaken fortitude ; and the dying expressed a grateful exultation in the consciousness of having promoted and beheld the foundation of a Christian church in this desolate and benighted quarter of the earth. The continuance of deadly disease enforced the devout supplications of the colonists ; and its cessation, which they recognized as the answer to their prayers, excited their pious gratitude. This calamity was hardly removed, when they were alarmed by the tidings of a conspiracy of the neighbouring Indians for their destruction. The colonists, instead of relying on their patent from the British crown, had, on their first arrival, fairly purchased from the Indians all the tracts of land which they proposed to occupy ; and in the hour of their peril, both they and the faithless vendors who menaced them reaped the fruit of their compliance or collision with the designs of Eternal Justice. The hostility of the savages was interrupted by a pestilential distemper, that broke out among them, and with rapid desolation swept whole tribes away. This distemper was the small-pox, which has always proved a much more formidable malady to Indian than to European constitutions. In spite of the most charitable exertions on the part of the colonists to arrest the progress of the malady by their superior medical skill, nine tenths of the neighbouring Indians were cut

off; and many of the survivors, flying from the infection, removed their habitations to more distant regions.¹

When the departure of winter and the arrival of supplies from England [1631] permitted the colonists to resume their assemblies for the transaction of public business, their very first proceedings demonstrated that a great majority of them were strongly imbued with a spirit of intolerance, and were determined that their commonwealth should exemplify a thorough intertexture and mutual dependence of church and state. A law was framed, enacting that no persons should hereafter be admitted freemen, or entitled to any share in the government, or capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as had been or should hereafter be received members of one or other of the congregations of the established church of the province. This law at once divested every person who did not hold the prevailing opinions, not only on the fundamental points of Christian doctrine, but with respect to ecclesiastical discipline and the ceremonies of worship, of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church being vested in the ministers and elders of each congregation, the most valuable civil rights were made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. Even at a later period, when the colonists were compelled by the remonstrances and menaces of Charles the Second to make some alteration of this law, they altered it at first rather in appearance than in reality, and still required that every candidate for the rank of a freeman should produce a certificate from some minister of the established church, that he was a person of orthodox principles and of honest life and conversation, — a certificate which dissenters

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Peirce's *History of Harvard University*. "The first planters, far from using the barbarous methods practised by the Spaniards on the southern continent, which have made them detestable to the whole Christian world, sought to gain the natives by strict justice in their dealings with them, as well as by all the endearments of kindness and humanity. To lay an early foundation for a firm and lasting friendship, they assured the Americans that they did not come among them as invaders, but purchasers, and therefore called an assembly of them together to inquire who had the right to dispose of their lands; and being told it was their sachems or princes, they thereupon agreed with them for what districts they bought, publicly, and in open market." — Dummer's *Defence of the New England Charters*.

from the established church solicited with great disadvantage. The consequence of such laws was to elevate the clergy to a very high degree of influence and authority ;¹ and, happily, the colony was long blessed with a succession of ministers whose disinterested virtue and superior sense served not merely to counteract the mischief of this inordinate influence, but even to convert it in some measure into an instrument of good. Though dissenters from the provincial church were thus deprived of political privileges, it does not appear that they were exposed to any positive molestation, except when their tenets were considered as blasphemous, or when they endeavoured by the propagation of them to detach other persons from the established system, or to disturb the public peace. The exclusion from political franchises to which they were subjected seems not at first to have given them any annoyance, but to have been recognized as the necessary operation of that system of policy in conformity with which the preservation of the church estate was accounted the main object of political institutions ; and the chief value of political rights was supposed to consist in their subservience to that object. Various persons resided in peace within the colony, though excluded from political franchises ; and one minister in particular, of the episcopal persuasion, provoked more mirth than displeasure, when, signifying his refusal to join any of the provincial congregations, he declared, that, *as he had left England because he did not like the lords bishops, so they might rest assured that he had not come to America to live under the lords brethren.*²

The diminution of their original numbers [1632³], which the

¹ Some instances of their influence in matters of importance will occur in the further progress of our narrative. An instance of their control over public opinion on a point, which, being quite beyond the province of reason, was the more likely to interest the most obstinate and unassailable prejudices, is mentioned by Hutchinson. Tobacco was at first prohibited under a penalty ; and in some writings that were popular in the colony, the smoke of it was with profane absurdity compared to the fumes of the bottomless pit. But some of the clergy having fallen into the practice of smoking, tobacco was instantly, by an act of government, "set at liberty."

² Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

³ "One pleasant thing happened this year, acted by the Indians. Mr. Winslow coming in his bark from Connecticut to Narraganset, went to Ousamequin, the sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him to Plymouth. Ousamequin sent a man to Plymouth to say that Winslow was dead. Being afterwards asked the reason, he said it was their custom, in order to make their friends more joyful on seeing them." — *Collections of the Rhode Island Histori-*

colonists underwent from hardship and disease, was much more than compensated by the ample reinforcements which they continually received from their persecuted brethren in England. Among the new settlers who arrived not long after the transference of the seat of government to Massachusetts, were some eminent Puritan ministers, of whom the most remarkable were Eliot and Mayhew, the first Protestant missionaries to the Indians, and John Cotton, a man whose singular worth procured, and long preserved, to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony. After ministering for twenty years in England to a congregation by whom he was highly respected and beloved, Cotton was summoned before the Court of High Commission, on a charge of neglecting to kneel at the sacrament. Lord Dorset and other persons of distinction, by whom he was known and esteemed, employed the strongest intercession in his behalf with Laud ; but their exertions were unavailing ; and Dorset was constrained to inform his friend, “ that, *if it had been only drunkenness or adultery* that he had committed, he might have found favor ; but the sin of Puritanism was unpardonable.” Cotton, in consequence, retired to New England, where he soon found an ample solace of exile in an enlarged sphere of usefulness and virtue. To an earnest concern for the propagation of religion he united a deep and constant personal sense of its influence ; and habitually seeking to illustrate and adorn by his life the doctrine which he taught, he promoted its acceptance by the weight of his character and the animation of his example.

The loftiness of the standard to which his constant regard was directed, and the assimilating influence of that strong admiration which he entertained for it, communicated to his character an elevation that commanded respect ; while the continual sense of his dependence on divine aid, and of his inferiority to the great object of his imitation, graced his manners with a humility that attracted love, and disarmed the contentious opposition of petulance and envy. It is recorded of him, that, having been once followed from the church where he

cal Society. Even the wise Ulysses is described by Homer as employing a similar device with his father, and *moving the old man's sorrow to enhance his joy.*

preached by a sour, peevish fanatic, who announced to him, with a frown, that his ministry had become dark and flat, he replied, "*Both, brother, — it may be both ; let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise.*" On another occasion, being accosted in the street by a pragmatistical disputer, who insolently called him an old fool, Cotton, with forgiving mildness blended with a solemnity that showed him incapable of contemning the opinion of his neighbour, answered, "*I confess I am so ; the Lord make thee and me wiser than we are ; even wise unto salvation.*"¹ The character, at once so venerable and so amiable, of this excellent clergyman, and of many of his colleagues, seems to have been formed by Providence for the express purpose of moderating, by a happy influence, the violent, divisive, and controversial spirit that long continued to ferment in a community of men whom persecution had rendered rigid and inflexible in opinion, — whose sentiments had not been harmonized by previous habits of union and accommodation, — who were daily receiving into their body a fresh infusion of dissimilar characters and exasperated spirits, — and among whom each naturally considered the notions and practices for which he had individually suffered as the most important feature of the common cause.

When we recollect the presence of such elements of discord, and the severe and protracted operation that had been given to that influence which tends to drive even the wise to frenzy, we shall be less disposed to marvel at the vehement heats and acrimonious contentions which in some instances broke forth to disturb the peace of the colony, than that in the midst of those alarming symptoms so much coherence and stability was preserved, and so much virtue, happiness, and prosperity attained. Nor should it ever be forgotten, that the polemical strife that arose among the fathers of New England was not the selfish strife of ambition. It arose from their common attachment to the truths of Christianity ; but, unfortunately, to these truths partially conceived, and beheld in different points of view by different men. Among the instruments happily qualified and providentially employed to compose and unite the spirits of the

¹ Neal.

people, were this eminent individual, John Cotton ; Thomas Hooker, a man very little inferior to him in worth and influence ; and, at a later period, Dr. Increase Mather, who succeeded to the estimation which Cotton had enjoyed, and whose family supplied no fewer than ten of the most popular ministers of the age which they adorned to the churches of Massachusetts, and produced the celebrated author of the ecclesiastical history of New England. If all the provincial churches had been guided by such spirits as these, the agitated minds of the inhabitants would doubtless have sooner attained a settled composure ; but, unfortunately, the intolerant and contentious disposition which many of the people had contracted did not long wait for ministerial leaders to excite and develop its activity.

The first theological dissension that arose in the colony was promoted by Roger Williams [1634], who emigrated to New England in 1630, and officiated for some time as pastor of New Plymouth. Not finding there an audience of congenial spirits, he obtained leave to resign that charge, and had recently been appointed minister of Salem. This man was a stubborn Brownist, keen, unpliant, illiberal, unforbearing, and passionate ; seasoning evil with good, and error with truth, he began to vent from the pulpit, which he had gained by his substantial piety and fervid zeal, a singular medley of notions, some wildly speculative, some boldly opposed to the constitutions of civil society, and some, which, if unexceptionable in the abstract, were unsuitable to the scene of their promulgation, and to the exercises and sentiments with which he endeavoured to blend them. He insisted that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for Christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate ; that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate, — not even the oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to repudiate ; that King Charles had unjustly usurped the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid ; that the civil magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men ; and that any thing short of unlimited toleration for all religious systems was detestable persecution.

These liberal principles of toleration he combined with a spirit so rigid and separative, that he not only refused all communion with persons who did not profess every one of the foregoing opinions, but forbade the members of the church at Salem to communicate with any of the other churches in the colony; and when they refused to obey this prohibition, he forsook his ministerial office among them, and established a separate meeting in a private house. He even withdrew from the society of his wife, because she continued to attend the church of Salem, and from that of his children, because he accounted them unregenerate. In his retirement he was attended by a select assembly of zealous admirers, consisting of men in whose minds an impetuous temper, inflamed by persecution, had greatly impaired the sense of moral perspective; who entertained disproportioned ideas of those branches of the trunk of godliness, for the sake of which they had endured severe affliction, and had seen worth and piety foully wronged; and who abhorred every symbol, badge, and practice, that was associated with the remembrance, and stained, as they conceived, with the iniquity, of their idolatrous oppressors. One of these individuals, Endicott, a magistrate of the place, and formerly deputy-governor of the colony, in a transport of devouring zeal against superstition, was instigated by Williams to cut the red cross out of the royal standard; and many of the trained bands, who had hitherto followed this standard without objection, caught the contagion of Endicott's fervor, and protested that they would no longer follow a flag on which the *popish* emblem of a crucifix was painted. The intemperate and disorderly conduct of Endicott was generally disapproved, and the provincial authorities punished his misdemeanour by reprimand and disability of holding office for a year; but they were obliged to compromise the dispute with the protesters among the trained bands, and to comply with their remonstrances. It is a notable fact, and illustrative perhaps of the extent of their compliance, that, only two years after, when they were pressed with (apparently) friendly counsel to dissipate English jealousy by hoisting the British flag on the walls of their little fort not a single royal ensign could be found in Massachusetts. They were preparing to call Williams to a

judicial reckoning, when Cotton and some other clergymen interposed, and desired to be allowed to reason with him ; alleging that his vehemence and breach of order betokened rather a misguided conscience, than seditious principles ; and that there was hope that they might gain, instead of losing, their brother. *You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you*, was the prediction of the governor ; and the result of the conference proving the justice of it,¹ sentence of banishment from the colony was forthwith pronounced against Williams.

This sentence excited a great uproar in Salem, and was so successfully denounced as persecution by the adherents of Williams, that the bulk of the inhabitants of the place were preparing to follow him into exile, when an earnest and pious admonition, addressed to them by Cotton and the other ministers of Boston, induced them to relinquish their purpose, to acknowledge the justice of the proceeding, and abandon Williams to his fate. Still, was he not abandoned by his more select admirers, whose esteem and affection he had gained to such a degree, that they resolved to brave every hardship, in order to live and die with him. Accompanying him in his exile, they directed their march towards the south ; and settling at a place beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they purchased a considerable tract of land from the Indians, and bestowed on their plantation the name of Providence. Had Williams encountered the severities to which the publication of his peculiar opinions would have exposed him in England, he would probably have lost his senses ; the wiser and kinder treatment he experienced from the Massachusetts authorities was productive of happier effects ; and Cotton and his colleagues were not wholly mistaken in supposing that they would gain their brother. They gained him, indeed, in a manner

¹ Though he would not retract his dogmas, it seems that some of the arguments that were employed with him sank into his mind, and at least reduced him to silence. Hooker, one of the ministers who were sent to deal with him, urged, among other reasonings, — “ If it be unlawful for an unregenerate person to pray, it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to ask a blessing on his meat ; and if so, it is unlawful for him to eat, since food is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsanctified (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5) ; and it must be equally unlawful for you to invite him to eat, since you ought not to tempt him to sin.” To this he declined making any answer. — Mather.

less flattering to themselves than a controversial victory would have been, but much more beneficial to the interests of America. He contributed, as we shall see, to found the colony of Rhode Island, and was one of its most eminent benefactors. He lived to an advanced age ; and gradually emancipating himself from the impetuous and yet punctilious spirit with which his doctrinal sentiments had originally been leavened, he regained the friendship and esteem of his ancient fellow-colonists, and preserved a friendly correspondence with Cotton and others of them till his death. The principles of toleration, which he had formerly discredited by the rigidity with which he disallowed the slightest difference of opinion between the members of his own communion, he now recommended by the exercise of meekness, charity, and forbearance. The great fundamental principles of Christianity progressively acquiring a more exclusive and absorbing influence on his mind, he began to labor for the conversion of the Indians ; and in addition to the benefits of which his ministry among them was productive to this race of people, he acquired over them an influence which he rendered highly advantageous to his old associates in Massachusetts, whom he was enabled frequently to apprize of conspiracies formed against them by the savages in their vicinity, and revealed to him by the tribes with whom he maintained relations of friendship.¹ Endicott's vehemence was not less mellowed by time and the ascendancy of sound wisdom and piety. He remained in Massachusetts ; and, at a later period, held for many years the chief office in its government with great public advantage and general esteem.²

The colony of Massachusetts continued meanwhile to advance in stability and prosperity, and to extend its settlements ; and this year [1634] an important and beneficial change took place in its municipal constitution. The mortality that had prevailed among the Indians vacated a great many stations formerly occupied by their tribes ; and as most of these were advantageously situated, the colonists took possession of them with an eagerness and latitude of appropriation that dispersed their settlements widely over the face of the country. This

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

² Mather.

necessarily led to the introduction of representative government ; and, accordingly, at the period of convoking the General Court, the freemen, instead of personally attending it, which was the literal prescription of the provincial charter, elected deputies from their several districts, whom they authorized to appear in their name and act in their behalf. Without demur or objection from any quarter, the pretensions of the persons thus elected were recognized ; and the popular representatives thenceforward considered themselves, in conjunction with the governor and council of assistants, as the supreme legislative assembly of the province. The abstract wisdom of this innovation is undeniable ; and, in defence of its legitimacy, it was forcibly urged that the colonists did no more than construct an improved and necessary access to the enjoyment of an advantage already belonging to them, and prevent their assemblies from becoming either too numerous to transact business, or inadequate to represent the general interest and administer the general will. The number of freemen was greatly augmented since the date of the charter ; many resided at a distance from the places where the general courts or assemblies of the freemen were held ; personal attendance had become inconvenient ; and, in such circumstances, little if any blame can attach to the colonists for effecting with their own hands the improvement that was necessary to preserve their existing rights, instead of applying to the government of England, which was steadily pursuing the plan of subverting the organs of liberty in the mother country, and had already begun to exhibit an altered countenance towards the colonial community. In consequence of this important measure, the colony advanced beyond the state of a mercantile society or corporation, and acquired by its own act the condition of a commonwealth endowed with political liberty. The representatives of the people, having established themselves in their office, asserted its appropriate privileges by decreeing that no legal ordinance should be framed within the province, no tax imposed, and no public officer appointed, in future, except by the provincial legislature.¹

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

The increasing violence and injustice of the royal government in Britain coöperated so forcibly with the tidings that were circulated of the prosperity of Massachusetts, — and the simple frame of ecclesiastical policy that was established in the colony presented a prospect so desirable, and (by the comparison which it invited) exposed the gorgeous hierarchy and recent superstitious innovations in the ceremonies of the English church to so much additional odium, — that the flow of emigration rather enlarged than subsided, and crowds of new settlers continued to flock to New England. Among the passengers in a fleet of twenty vessels that arrived in the ensuing year [1635] were two persons who afterwards made a distinguished figure in a more conspicuous scene. One of these was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell ; and the other was Vane, whose father, Sir Henry Vane the elder, enjoyed the dignity of a privy counsellor at the English court, and afterwards filled the office of principal secretary of state. Peters, who united an active and enterprising genius with the warmest devotion to the interests of religion and liberty, became minister of Salem, where he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but suggested new hints of profitable industry to the planters, and recommended his wise counsels by his own successful example. His labors were blessed with a produce not less honorable than enduring. The spirit which he fostered has continued to prevail with unabated vigor ; and nearly two centuries after his death, the piety, good morals, and industry, by which Salem has always been characterized, were ascribed with just and grateful commemoration to the effects of Peters's residence there. He remained in New England till the year 1641, when, at the request of the colonists, he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return. But his race remained in the land thus highly indebted to his virtue ; and the name of Winthrop, one of the most honored in New England, was acquired and transmitted by his daughter.

Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to reside in New England by the prohibition of his father, who was at

length induced to wave his objections by the interference of the king. The Puritan principles which Vane had imbibed, and to which he had already sacrificed his collegiate rank in the university of Oxford, were distasteful alike to his father and his king ; and while the one dreaded the effect of his intercourse with the Puritans of Massachusetts, the other feared the influence of his example in England. A young man of patrician family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty, that, relinquishing the most brilliant prospects in Britain, he chose to inhabit an infant colony which as yet afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. The fixed, thoughtful composure of his aspect and demeanour stamped a serious grace and somewhat (according to our conceptions) of angelic grandeur on the bloom of manhood ; his countenance disclosed the surface of a character not less resolute than profound, and of which the energy was not extinguished, but concentrated into a sublime and solemn calm. He possessed a prompt and clear discernment of the characters and purposes of other men, and a wonderful mastery of his own spirit. Clarendon ascribes to him "a quick conception and ready, sharp, and weighty expression, an unusual aspect, a *vultum clausum*, which, though no man could guess what he intended, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary ; and his whole life made good that imagination." He has been charged with a wild enthusiasm¹ by some who have remarked the intensity with which he pursued purposes which to them appeared worthless and ignoble ; and with hypocrisy by others, who have contrasted the vigor of his resolution with the calmness of his manners. But a juster consideration, perhaps,

¹ One ingenious writer speaks more respectfully of Vane's enthusiasm ; declaring that "it seems never to have precipitated him into injudicious measures, but to have added new powers to his natural sagacity." "He mistook," continues the writer, "his deep penetration for a prophetic spirit, and the light of his genius for divine irradiation." I see no proof that he entertained the first of these notions, and no mistake in the second.

may suggest that it was the habitual energy of his determination that repressed every symptom of vehement impetuosity, and induced an equality of manner that scarcely appeared to exceed the pitch of a grave, deliberate constancy. So much did his mind predominate over his senses, that, although constitutionally timid,¹ and keenly susceptible of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when, amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to him in the appalling form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with a heroic and smiling intrepidity, and encountered it with tranquil and dignified resignation. The man who could so command himself was formed to acquire ascendancy over the minds of others. He was instantly admitted a freeman of Massachusetts; and extending his claims to respect by the address and ability which he displayed in conducting business, was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival [1636], by unanimous choice, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration. These expectations were disappointed. Vane, not finding in the political affairs of the colonists a wide enough field for the excursion of his active spirit, embarked its energy in their theological discussions; and, unfortunately, connecting himself with a party who had conceived singularly clear and profound views of Christian doctrine, but associated them with some dangerous errors, and discredited them by a wild extravagance of behaviour, he very soon witnessed the abridgment of his usefulness and the decline of his popularity.²

The incessant flow of emigration to Massachusetts, causing the inhabitants of some of the towns to feel themselves straitened for room, suggested the formation of additional settlements. A project of founding a new colony on the banks of

¹ See note VI., at the end of the volume.

² *America Painted to the Life*, by Ferdinando Gorges. There is a copy of this work in the Redcross-street Library of London. Neal. Hutchinson. Dwight's *Travels in New England and New York*. Upham's *Life of Sir Henry Vane*, in Sparks's *American Biography*. New England has now repaid Vane's noble devotion by the best (Mr. Upham's) memoir of that great man that has ever been given to the world. Vane was accompanied to America by Lord Leigh, son of the Earl of Marlborough, who had conceived a curiosity to behold the New England settlements.

the River Connecticut was now embraced by Hooker, one of the ministers of Boston, and a hundred of the members of his congregation. After enduring extreme hardship, and encountering the usual difficulties that attended the foundation of civilized society in this quarter of America, with the usual display of Puritan fortitude and resolution, they succeeded in establishing a plantation, which gradually enlarged into the flourishing State of Connecticut. Some Dutch settlers from New York, who took prior possession of a post in this country, were compelled to surrender it to the British colonists, who, moreover, obtained shortly after from Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Seal an assignation to a district which these noblemen had acquired in the same quarter, with the intention of flying from royal tyranny to America.¹ Hooker and his comrades relied for a while on a commission which they procured from the government of Massachusetts for the administration of justice in their new settlement ; but subsequently ascertaining that their territory was beyond the jurisdiction of the magistrates from whom the commission was derived, they combined themselves by a voluntary association into a body politic, constructed on the model of the colonial society from which they had separated. They continued in this condition till the Restoration, when they obtained a charter for themselves from King Charles the Second. That this secession from the colony of Massachusetts was occasioned by lack of room in a province yet imperfectly peopled has appeared so improbable to some writers, that they have thought it necessary to assign another cause, and have found none so credible or satisfactory as the jealousy which they conclude that Hooker must inevitably have entertained towards Cotton, whose patriarchal authority had attained such a height in Massachusetts, that even a formi-

¹ Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Seal so far pursued their design as to send an agent to take possession of their territory, and build a fort. Happily for America, the sentiments and habits that rendered them unfit members of a society where complete civil liberty and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America ; and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardor for emigration subsided, and nearer and more interesting prospects opened to their activity in England. — Chalmers.

dable civil broil was quelled by one of his pacific discourses. But envy was not a passion congenial to the breast of Hooker, or likely to be generated by the character or influence of Cotton. The notion of a redundant population was the more readily conceived at this period from the unwillingness of the settlers to penetrate far into the interior of the country, and thus deprive themselves of an easy communication with the coast. Another reason, indeed, appears to have suggested the formation of the new settlement; but it was a reason that argued not dissension, but community of feeling and design between the planters who remained in Massachusetts and those who removed to Connecticut. By the establishment of this advanced station, a barrier, it was hoped, would be erected against the vexatious incursions of the Pequod Indians.¹ Nor is it unlikely that some of the seceders to the new settlement were actuated by a restless spirit, which had expected too much from external change, and which vainly urged a farther pursuit of that spring of contentment which must arise in the minds of those who would enjoy it.

In the immediate neighbourhood of this new settlement another plantation was formed, about two years after [1638], by a numerous band of emigrants who arrived from England under the guidance of Theophilus Eaton, a man of large fortune, and John Davenport, an eminent Puritan minister. Averse to erect the social institutions which they projected upon foundations previously laid by other hands, these adventurers declined to settle in Massachusetts, which already presented the scene of a thriving and well compacted community; and smitten with the attractions of a vacant territory skirting the large and commodious sound to the southwest of Connecticut River, they purchased from its Indian owners all the land that lies between that stream and the line which now separates New England from New York. Repairing to the

¹ Mather. Hutchinson. Trumbull. It appears from Mather's *Lives*, that Cotton and Hooker were knit together in the firmest bonds of Christian friendship and cordial esteem. Yet these men, who forsook houses, lands, and country for the sake of the gospel, are described by Dr. Robertson as "rival competitors in the contest for fame and power"! This is the only light in which many eminent and even reverend writers are capable of regarding the labors of the patriot, the saint, and the sage. It is not uncommon for men, in attempting to paint the character of others, unconsciously to transcribe their own.

shores of this sound, they built, first the town of New Haven, which gave its name to the whole colony, and then the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Branford. After some time they crossed the sound, and planted various settlements in Long Island ; in all places where they came, erecting churches on the model of the Independents. When we observe the injustice and cruelty exercised by the government of Britain, thus contributing to cover the earth with cities and to plant religion and liberty in the savage deserts of America, we recognize the overruling providence of that Being who can render even the insolence of tyrants who usurp his attributes conducive to his honor. Having no royal patent, nor any other title to their lands than the vendition of the natives, and not being included within the boundaries of any provincial jurisdiction established by British authority, the planters of New Haven united in a compact of voluntary association of the same nature and for the same ends with that which the founders of Connecticut had embraced ; and in this condition they remained till the Restoration, when New Haven and Connecticut were united together by a charter of King Charles the Second.¹

When the plantation of Connecticut was first projected, hopes were entertained that it might conduce to overawe the hostility of the Indians ; but it produced a perfectly opposite effect. The tribes of Indians in the immediate vicinity of Massachusetts Bay were comparatively feeble and unwarlike ; but the colonies of Providence and Connecticut were planted in the midst of powerful and martial hordes. Among these, the most considerable were the Narragansets, who inhabited the

¹ Neal. The colonists of Massachusetts were very desirous that Davenport and his associates should settle among them. But "it had been an observation of Mr. Davenport's, that, whenever a reformation had been effected in any part of the world, it had rested where it had been left by the reformers. It could not be advanced another step. He was now embarked in a design of forming a civil and religious constitution as near as possible to Scripture precept and example. The principal gentlemen who had followed him to America had the same views. In laying the foundation of a new colony, there was a fair probability that they might accommodate all matters of church and commonwealth to their own feelings and sentiments. But in Massachusetts the principal men were fixed in the chief seats of government, which they were likely to keep, and their civil and religious polity was already formed." Trumbull. In the history of every great public reform, religious or political, we may remark the operation, among the leading reformers, of a narrow, selfish, arrogant spirit, timidly or ambitiously contending for *finality* and opposed to ulterior progress.

shores of the bay which bears their name ; and the Pequods, who occupied the territory which stretches from the River Pequod¹ to the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a numerous tribe, and renowned for their prowess and ferocity. They entertained, from the first, a jealous hatred of the European colonists, and for some time past had harassed them with unprovoked attacks, and excited their abhorrence and indignation by the monstrous outrages to which they subjected their captives. Unoffending men, women, and children, who fell into their hands, were scalped and sent back to their friends, or put to death with every circumstance of torture and indignity, — while the assassins, with diabolical glee and derision, challenged them to invoke the God of the Christians, and put to the proof his power to save them. The extension of the English settlements excited anew the fury of the savages, and produced a repetition of injuries, which Vane, the governor of Massachusetts, determined at length to retaliate and punish by offensive operations. Receiving intelligence of a serious attack by the Pequods on the Connecticut settlers [1637], he summoned all the New England communities to assemble and despatch the strongest force they could contribute to the defence of their countrymen and of the common cause of European colonization. The Pequods, aware of the impending danger, were not negligent of prudent precautions, as well as active endeavours to repel it. To this end, they sought a reconciliation with the Narragansets, their hereditary enemies and rivals in power ; proposing that on both sides the remembrance of ancient quarrels and animosities should be buried, or at least suspended ; and urging the Narragansets for once to coöperate cordially with them against a common foe, whose progressive encroachments threatened to confound them both in one common destruction. But the Narragansets had long cherished a fierce and deep-rooted hatred against the Pequods ; and, less moved by a distant prospect of danger to themselves, than by the hope of an instant gratification of their implacable revenge, they rejected the proposals of accommodation, and determined to assist the English in the prosecution of the war.²

¹ The Thames.² Mather. Neal. Trumbull.

Enraged, but not dismayed, by this disappointment, the Pequods hastened, by the vigor of their operations, to anticipate the junction of the allied provincial forces ; and the Connecticut troops, while as yet they had received but a small part of the succour which their friends had engaged to afford them, found it necessary to advance against the enemy. The Pequod warriors, amounting in number to more than fifteen hundred, commanded by Sassacus, their principal sachem, occupied two fortified stations, against one of which Captain Mason and the Connecticut militia, consisting only of ninety men, attended by a troop of Indian allies, directed their attack. The approach of Mason was quickened by the information he obtained, that the enemy, deceived by a seemingly retrograde movement of the provincial force, had abandoned themselves to the conviction that the English dared not encounter them, and were celebrating with festive revel and premature triumph the supposed evacuation of their country. About daybreak, while wrapped in deep slumber and supine security, they were approached by the colonists ; and the surprise would have been complete, if an alarm had not been communicated by the barking of a dog. The war-whoop was instantly sounded, and they flew to their arms. The English troops rushed on to the attack ; and while some of them fired on the Indians through the palisades, others forced their way by the entrances into the fort, and, setting fire to the huts, which were covered with reeds, involved their enemies in the confusion and horror of a general conflagration. The Pequods, notwithstanding the disadvantage of their predicament, behaved with great intrepidity ; but, after a stout and obstinate resistance, they were defeated, with the slaughter of at least five hundred of their tribe. Many of the women and children perished in the flames ; and the warriors, endeavouring to escape, were slain by the colonists, or, falling into the hands of the Indian allies of the English, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. Soon after this action, Captain Stoughton having arrived with the auxiliary troops from Massachusetts, it was resolved to pursue the victory. Several engagements took place, which terminated unfavorably for the Pequods ; and in a short time they sustained another general defeat, which put an end to the war. A few

only of this once powerful nation survived, who, abandoning their country to the victorious Europeans, dispersed themselves among the neighbouring tribes, and lost their existence as a separate people. Sassacus had been an object of superstitious terror to the Narragansets, who at first endeavoured to dissuade the colonists from risking a personal encounter with him, by the assurance that his life was charmed and his person invulnerable. After the destruction of his people, and when he fled for refuge to a distant tribe, the Narragansets passing, by natural progress, from terror to cruelty, solicited and prevailed with his hosts to cut off his head.¹ Thus terminated a struggle, more important from its consequences than from the numbers of the combatants or the celebrity of their names. On its issue there had been staked no less than the question, whether Christianity and civilization, or paganism and barbarity, should prevail in New England.

This first military enterprise of the colonists was conducted with vigor and ability, and impressed the Indian race with a high opinion of their steadfast courage and superior skill. Their victory, it must be confessed, was sullied by cruelties, which it is easy to account for and extenuate, but painful to recollect. The Massachusetts militia, previously to their march, exerted no small diligence in purging their ranks of all persons whose religious sentiments did not fully correspond with the general standard of faith and orthodoxy.² It had been happy, if they could have purged their own bosoms of the vindictive feelings which the outrages of their savage foes were but too well fitted to inspire. Some of the prisoners were tortured by the Indian allies, whose cruelties we can hardly doubt that the English might have prevented; a considerable number

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Trumbull. The destruction of the brave Pequods, though provoked by their own aggressive hostility, was lamented about one hundred and fifty years after by an American divine and poet:—

“Indulge, my native land! indulge the tear

That steals impassioned o’er a nation’s doom;

To me each twig from Adam’s stock is near,

And sorrows fall upon an Indian’s tomb.” — Dwight.

² Regimental chaplains accompanied the New England forces in their campaigns; and in circumstances of doubt or danger, the chaplain was invited to pray for divine direction and assistance. When a commander-in-chief was appointed, his truncheon was delivered to him by one of the clergy.— Trumbull.

were sold as slaves in Bermudas,¹ and the rest were reduced to servitude in the New England settlements. In aggravation of the reproach which these proceedings undoubtedly merit, it has been urged, but with very little reason, that the Pequods were entitled to the treatment of an independent people gallantly striving to defend their property, their rights, and their freedom. But, in truth, the Pequods were the aggressors in an unjust quarrel, and were fighting all along in support of unprovoked and ferocious purposes of extermination. The colonists had conducted themselves with undeviating justice, civility, and Christian benevolence towards the Indians. They treated fairly with them for the ceded territories; assisted them by counsel and help in their diseases and their agriculture; and labored to communicate to them the blessings of religion. They disallowed all acquisitions of territory from the Indians, but such as underwent the scrutiny and received the sanction of the colonial magistracy; and they offered a participation of all the rights and privileges of their commonwealth to every Indian who would embrace the faith of a Christian and the manners of a civilized human being. In return for these demonstrations of good-will, they experienced the most exasperating outrage and barbarity, directed against all that they revered or loved; and were forcibly impressed with the conviction, that they must either extirpate those sanguinary idolaters, or leave themselves and their wives, children, and Christian kindred exposed to a far more horrid extermination.² Even in the course of the war, they made propositions of lenity to the savages, on the condition of their delivering up the murderers of the English; but their offers were uniformly rejected; and the people who thus avouched the murders as national acts invited the avengers of blood to visit them with national punishments.

¹ A similar punishment was inflicted, some years after, in England, on a number of the royalists who were implicated in Penruddock's insurrection. — Hume.

² The colonists considered themselves in some degree accessory to the crimes which they failed to prevent by neglect of any of the means warranted by strict justice. Belknap cites the following entry in a MS. *Journal of Events in New England*, some years posterior to this period. "The house of John Keniston was burned, and he killed, at Greenland. The Indians are Simon, Andrew, and Peter. Those three we had in prison, and should have killed. *The good Lord pardon us!*" — *History of New Hampshire*.

The mutual hostilities of civilized nations, waged by dispassionate mercenaries, and directed by leaders more eager for fame than prompted by animosity or personal apprehension, may be conducted on the principles of a splendid game. But such hostilities as those which the New England colonists were compelled to wage with the hordes of savage assassins who attacked them will always display human passions in their naked horror and ferocity. The permission (for we must suppose that they could have prevented it) of the barbarity of their savage allies appears the least excusable feature in their conduct. And yet, in considering it, we must add to our allowance for passion inflamed by enormous provocation a reasonable regard to the danger and inexpediency of checking that mutual enmity of the savages, which prevented a combination that might have proved fatal to all the European settlements. The reduction of their captives to servitude was unquestionably an illaudable measure ; but one for which it would not be easy to suggest a substitute. The captive Pequods were treated with all possible kindness, and regarded rather as indented servants than slaves. It must be acknowledged, at least, that the colonists observed a magnanimous consistency in their international policy, and gave the Indians the protection of the same stern principles of justice of which they had taught them to feel the vindictive energy. They not only tendered a participation of their own privileges and territory to all civilized and converted Indians ; but, having ascertained the stations which the savages most highly valued, and the range of territory that seemed necessary to their comfort and happiness, they prohibited and annulled every transaction by which these domains might be added to the European acquisitions. A short time after the termination of the Pequod war, an Indian having been wantonly killed by some vagabond Englishmen, the murderers were solemnly tried and executed for the crime ; and the Indians beheld with astonishment the blood of three men deliberately shed by their own countrymen for the slaughter of one stranger. The sense of justice, coöperating with the repute of valor, secured to the English settlements a long rest from war.¹

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

While the military force of Massachusetts was thus externally employed, the provincial commonwealth was shaken by intestine dissension, generated by theological controversy, and inflamed by the gall of bitterness of unruly tongues. [1637.] It was the custom at that time in Boston, that the members of every congregation should assemble in weekly meetings to reconsider the sermons of the preceding Sunday ; to discuss the doctrinal instructions they had heard ; to revive the impressions that had been produced by their Sabbatical exercises ; and extend the sacred influence of the Sabbath throughout the week. Anne Hutchinson, the wife of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the colony, a lady of masculine spirit, subtle, ambitious, and enthusiastic, submitted with impatience to the restriction by which women at these meetings were debarred from the privilege of joining in the debates ; and conceiving that she was authorized to exercise her didactic powers by the precept of Scripture which enjoins *the elder women to teach the younger*, she established separate female assemblages, in which her zeal and talent soon procured her a numerous and admiring audience. These women, who had partaken the struggles and perils of the male colonists, had also caught no small portion of the various hues of their spirit ; and as many of them had been accustomed to a life more replete with external elegance and variety of interest and employment than the state of the colony could supply, they experienced a restless craving for something to animate and engage their faculties, and judged nothing fitter for this purpose than an imitation of those exercises for the promotion of the great common cause, which seemed to minister so much comfort and support to the spirits of the men. Mrs. Hutchinson, their leader, gained by her devout behaviour the cordial esteem of John Cotton, whose charity never failed to recognize in every human being the slightest trace of those graces which he continually and ardently longed to behold ; and towards him she entertained and professed for some time a very high veneration. The friendship of Vane and some others had a less favorable influence on her mind ; and their admiring praise of the depth and vigor of her genius seems to have elevated, in her estimation, the gifts of intellect above the graces of character. She acquired

the title of *The Nonsuch*, which the ingenuity of her admirers derived from an anagrammatical transposition of the letters of her name ; and gave to her female assemblies the title of *gossipings*,—a term, at that time, of respectable import, but which the scandalous repute of female congregation and debate has since consigned to contempt and ridicule. Doing amiss what the Scriptures plainly forbade her to do at all, she constituted herself not only a dictator of orthodoxy, but a censor of the spiritual condition and value of all the ministers and inhabitants of the province. Her canons of doctrine were received by her associates as the unerring standard of truth ; and a defamatory persecution was industriously waged against all who accounted them unsound, uncertain, or unintelligible. A scrutiny was instituted into the characters of all the provincial clergy and laity ; and of those who refused to receive the doctrinal testimony of the conclave, few found it easy to encounter the test of a censorious inquisition stimulated by female petulance and controversial rancor. In the assemblies which were held by the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, there was nourished and trained a keen, contentious spirit, and unbridled license of tongue, of which the influence was speedily felt in the serious disturbance, first of domestic happiness, and then of the public peace. The matrons of Boston were transformed into a synod of slanderous praters, whose inquisitorial deliberations and audacious decrees instilled their venom into the innermost recesses of society ; and the spirits of a great majority of the citizens being in that combustible state in which a feeble spark will suffice to kindle a formidable conflagration, the whole colony was inflamed and distracted by the incontinence of female spleen and presumption.¹

The tenets embraced and inculcated by the faction of which Mrs. Hutchinson was the leader were denounced by their adversaries as constituting the heresy of Antinomianism,—a charge, which, when preferred by the world at large, indicates no more than the reproach which the gospel, from its first pro-

¹ “When the minds of men are full of reforming spirit, and predisposed to the distempers which are engendered by such fulness, a little matter sometimes occasions rather than causes dangerous symptoms to appear.”—Sir James Mackintosh.

mulgation, has been fated to sustain, and when advanced by Christians against each other generally implies nothing else than the conclusion which the accusers logically deduce from certain articles of doctrine, but which the holders of these articles reject and disallow. Nothing can be more perfectly free and gratuitous than the tender of heavenly grace in the gospel ; nor any thing more powerfully operative than the influence which the faithful acceptance of this grace is calculated to exercise. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents contended more earnestly for the freedom than for the constraining influence of divine grace ; and, with female eagerness and polemical impetuosity, were prompt and swift to brand with terms of heretical and contemptuous designation every inhabitant of the colony, and especially every minister, whose views did not entirely coincide with their own. The doctrines which they taught, and the censures which they pronounced, were received with avidity and delight by a considerable party ; and, proportionally provoking the displeasure of others, excited the most violent dissensions throughout the whole colony. Cotton endeavoured to moderate the heats that arose, by representing to the parties that their strife was prejudicial to the great purpose in which he firmly believed the minds of both were united, — the exalting and honoring of divine grace ; *the one (said he) seeking to advance the grace of God within us in the work of sanctification, the other seeking to advance the grace of God without us in the work of justification.* But the strife was not to be stayed ; his endeavours to pacify and reconcile only attracted upon himself the fulmination of a censure of timorous and purblind incapacity from the assembly of the women ; and, as even this insult was not able to provoke him to declare himself entirely opposed to them, he incurred a temporary abatement of his popularity with the majority of the colonists. Some of the tenets promulgated by the sectaries he revered as the legitimate fruit of profound and perspicuous meditation of the Scriptures ; but he viewed with grief and amazement the fierce and arrogant spirit with which they were maintained, and the wild and dangerous errors with which they were associated.

The controversy raged with a violence very unfavorable to

the discernment and recognition of truth. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents, both male and female, firmly persuaded of the superior soundness and purity of their system of doctrine, forgot to consider how far the opposition which it encountered might be traced to the obscurity and imperfection with which they themselves received and proclaimed it ; — a consideration which no human being is entitled to disregard, and which is peculiarly fitted to embellish superior attainments and promote their efficacy, by uniting them with the amiable graces of candor and humility. The principles they discarded from their creed laid hold of their spirits ; and while they contended for the sovereignty of divine grace in communicating truth, they assailed their adversaries with an acrimony and invective that might well seem to imply that truth was easily and exclusively attainable by the mere will and endeavour of men. The most enlightened and consistent Christian will ever be the most ready to acknowledge that *he knows nothing yet as he ought to know*, and may have more cause than in this life he can ever discover to blush for the defectiveness of a testimony, which, exhibited with more clearness and consistency, might have found a readier and more entire acceptance with mankind. But no such considerations suggested themselves to mitigate the vehemence or soften the asperity of those busy, bold, and presumptuous spirits ; nor did it ever occur to them that the doctrines they proclaimed would be discredited by association with the venom of untamed, audacious tongues. It is asserted that the heat of their tempers gradually communicated itself to the understandings of Mrs. Hutchinson and her party ; and that — in addition to their original tenets, that believers are personally united with the spirit of God, that commands to *work out salvation with fear and trembling* apply only to those who are under a covenant of works, and that sanctification is not the proper evidence of Christian condition — they adopted that dangerous and erroneous notion of the Quakers, that the spirit of God communicates with the minds of believers independently of the written word ; and, in consistency with this, received many revelations of future events, announced to them by Mrs. Hutchinson, as equally infallible with the prophecies of Scripture. But the accounts transmitted of such theologi-

cal dissensions are always obscured by the cloud of contemporary passion, prejudice, and error ; hasty effusions of irritated zeal are mistaken for deliberate sentiments ; and the excesses of the zealots of a party held up as the standard by which the whole body may fairly be measured.¹

Some ministers, who espoused Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, began to proclaim them from the pulpit with such opprobrious invectives against all by whom they were rejected, as at length brought the dissensions to a crisis ; and Vane being accounted the confederate and protector of Mrs. Hutchinson, his continuance in office, or privation of it at the approaching annual election, was the first test by which the parties were to try with which of them resided the power of imposing silence on the other. So much ill-humor and mutual jealousy had now been instilled into the minds of the people, that the utmost efforts of the sober and humane barely sufficed to prevent the election from being disgracefully signalized by a general riot. All the exertions of Vane's partisans failed to obtain his re-appointment ; and, by a great majority of votes, Winthrop was chosen governor. [May, 1637.] Vane, nevertheless, still remained in Massachusetts, professing his willingness to undertake even the humblest function in the service of a commonwealth composed of the undoubted people of God ; and the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, regarding his deprivation of office as a dangerous blow to themselves, ceased not to labor for his reinstatement with as much warmth as they had exerted for the propagation of their religious tenets. The government was loudly and insultingly vilified, and Winthrop openly slighted and affronted. At length the prevailing party resolved to cut

¹ That to a certain extent, however, the heresy which I have particularized had crept in among them seems undeniably manifest ; and it is remarkable that the notion which united them with the fundamental tenet of the Quakers should have issued from a society, which, with farther resemblance to the Quakers, admitted the antisciptural irregularity of female preaching. Captain Underhill, one of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, carried that error to a monstrous length, and combined with it the grossest immorality of conduct. Much scandal was occasioned by his publicly affirming that he had received a special communication of his everlasting safety while he was smoking a pipe. He was banished along with his patroness, and a few years after returned to Boston, where he made a public confession of hypocrisy, adultery, and delusion. Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*. Another of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers was a woman named Mary Dyer, who retired to Rhode Island, where she subsequently became a Quaker. Winthrop's *Journal* (Savage's edition).

up this source of contention by the roots ; and a general synod of the churches of the colony having been assembled, the doctrines recently broached were condemned as erroneous and heretical. As this proceeding served only to provoke the professors of these doctrines to assert them with increased warmth and pertinacity, the leaders of the party were summoned before the General Court. Mrs. Hutchinson rebuked her judges for their wicked persecution of truth, compared herself to the prophet Daniel cast into the den of lions, and attempted to complete the similitude by exercising what she believed to be the gift of prophecy, and predicting that her exile would be attended with the ruin of her adversaries and all their posterity.¹ To this punishment, nevertheless, she was condemned, together with her brother, Wheelwright, who was a clergyman, and had been the chief pulpit-champion of her doctrines ; and some of the inferior members of the faction, partly on account of the violence with which they still proclaimed their theological tenets, and partly for the seditious insolence with which they had treated the new governor, were fined and disfranchised. In consequence of these proceedings, Vane quitted the colony and returned to England, "leaving a caveat," says Cotton Mather, "that all good men are not fit for government."²

From the unpleasing contemplation of these religious dissensions, we turn to the more agreeable survey of some of the consequences which attended their issue. A considerable num-

¹ Her presumption was signally punished. The ruin she predicted as the consequence of her exile fell on herself and her family. She went to Rhode Island ; but not liking that situation, removed to one of the Dutch settlements, where she and all her family were murdered by the Indians. Before she quitted Massachusetts, she published a disclamation of some of the erroneous tenets which were imputed to her ; but maintained (in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary) that she had never entertained them. This was considered a proof of dissimulation. Perhaps it might rather have warranted the inference, that the visionary and violent spirit which had laid hold of her had departed or subsided, and that she no longer recognized the opinions, which, through its medium, formerly presented themselves to her imagination.

² Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Milton differed from Mather in his estimate of Vane's capacity. His fine sonnet to him begins thus : —

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsels old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."

And ends thus : —

"Therefore on thy right hand Religion leans,
And reckons thee in chief her eldest son."

ber of persons, dissatisfied with the policy and conduct of the synod and the General Court of Massachusetts, voluntarily forsook the colony ; some of these united themselves with Roger Williams and his friends at Providence ; and being soon after abandoned by Mrs. Hutchinson, they fell under the guidance of that meliorated spirit which Williams now began to display. By a transaction with the Indians, these associated exiles acquired the property of a fertile island in Narraganset Bay, which obtained the name of Rhode Island.¹ Williams remained among them upwards of forty years, respected as the father and director of the colony, of which he was several times elected governor. In the year 1643, he made a journey to England, and, aided by the interest of Sir Henry Vane, obtained and conveyed to his fellow-colonists a parliamentary charter, by which Providence and Rhode Island were politically united till the Restoration. Others of the exiles, under the guidance of Wheelwright, betook themselves to the northeast parts of New England, and, being joined by associates who were allured by the prospects of rich fisheries and an advantageous beaver trade, they gradually formed and peopled the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine. These provinces had been respectively purchased from the Council of Plymouth by Mason and Gorges, who made sundry ineffectual attempts to colonize their acquisitions with advantage to themselves. Mason and Gorges were actuated by views widely different from those which prevailed in general among the colonists of New England ; they wished to become the proprietaries or hereditary chiefs of vast manors and seigniories, and to establish in America the very institutions from which emigrants to America were generally seeking to escape. They found it impracticable to ob-

¹ The price paid to the Indians was fifty fathoms of white beads, ten coats, and twenty shoes. Chalmers. "When a fourth part of a township of the common size was sold by one Englishman to another for a wheelbarrow, it will be easily believed that it was of still less value to the aborigines. To the Indians, without an English purchaser, the land was often worth nothing ; and to the colonist, its value was created by his labor." Dwight's *Travels*. "At Rhode Island, the settlers, in March, 1638, subscribed the following civil compact : — 'We, whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic ; and, as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates, to our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all the perfect and absolute laws given in his holy word.' " Pitkin's *History of America*.

tain a revenue from the settlers in New Hampshire and Maine, or to establish among them a form of government suited to their own views. These settlers, composed partly of adventurers from England, and partly of exiles and voluntary emigrants from Massachusetts, framed for themselves separate governments, to which for a few years they yielded a precarious obedience ; till, wearied with internal disputes and divisions, they besought the protection of the General Court of Massachusetts, and obtained leave to be included within the pale of its jurisdiction.¹

A schism, akin to that which Mrs. Hutchinson created in Massachusetts, was fomented at Plymouth by one Samuel Gorton ; but his career in this place was cut short by a conviction for swindling. He removed from Plymouth to Rhode Island, where he excited such disturbance, that, even in this community, where unlimited toleration was professed, he was sentenced to be flogged and banished. Repairing to the plantation of Providence, he nearly involved the people of this settlement in a war with the Indians ; but at length, in compliance with the entreaty of Roger Williams, the government of Massachusetts laid hold of him and some of his adherents, and, after subjecting them to a temporary imprisonment, obliged them to depart the country.² [1638.]

The population of Massachusetts, impaired by the various drains from this territory which we have noticed, was recruited in the following year by the arrival of a fleet of twenty ships conveying three thousand emigrants from England. Of these the most eminent and memorable person was Charles Chauncy, an English clergyman, and one of the greatest scholars and theologians of his age. Flying from the persecution which his own generous but passionate temper provoked from the bigotry of Laud, he devoted himself, with the most admirable zeal, patience, industry, and success, to the ministry of the gospel,

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Sullivan's *History of Maine*. Belknap. The province of Maine was thus denominated in honor of the British queen, with whom Charles the First received as a dowry the revenues of a French province of the same name. Sullivan. Sullivan has been represented to me as an intelligent man ; but he is certainly not a perspicuous historian.

² Gorges's *America painted to the Life*. Neal. Gorton went to England, and, during the civil wars, occasioned some trouble to the colony by his complaints of the treatment which he had undergone.

and the tuition of youth, in his adopted country. So animating and impressive was the Christian example he sustained, that the church with which he connected himself celebrated, on a day of thanksgiving to God, the privilege by which they were distinguished in obtaining the society and converse of such a man. Resigning wealth, ease, and distinction, he cheerfully entertained a lot of penury, toil, and obscurity ; and at the age of fourscore, resisted all solicitations to repose, and expressed an earnest desire to die in his pulpit. The same year witnessed the foundation of an establishment calculated to improve and preserve the moral condition of the people. This was Harvard College (which has subsequently expanded into Harvard University), at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, the first seminary of learning erected in North America. So highly prized were the advantages of knowledge and the influence of education by these generous parents of American society, that in the year 1636, while the colony, in addition to the feebleness and suffering of its infant condition, was struggling with the calamity of the Pequod War, the General Court at Boston appropriated four hundred pounds to the erection of a college or academy. "For a like spirit, under like circumstances," says the president and historian of this institution, "history will be searched in vain." The bequest of an emigrant clergyman, who appointed his whole fortune to be applied to the same design, enabled them in the present year to enrich their country with an establishment whose operation has proved as beneficial to their posterity, as its institution, at this early period of their history, is honorable to themselves. In the year 1642, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred by Harvard College on nine young men, the first persons who ever received collegiate honors, the growth of North America.¹

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Winthrop's *Journal* (Savage's edition). Quincy's *History of Harvard University*. For some time the college possessed but a scanty collection of books. The efforts of the managers to accumulate a library were aided by considerable donations of books made to them by that great and pious ecclesiastic, Archbishop Usher ; by the celebrated Non-conformist minister, Richard Baxter ; the great Whig lawyer and partisan, Sergeant Maynard ; and that distinguished warrior and philosopher, Sir Kenelm Digby. This last mentioned benefactor to a Puritan library was himself a Roman Catholic. It is an interesting fact, and serves to dignify and embellish the relationship between the two countries, that many of the most illustrious

The national growth of the New England societies was now to be left to depend on their own resources ; and the impulse which had been communicated to it by the stream of emigration from the parent state was for a while to cease. For some time past, the policy of the English government in relation to these settlements had savored of fear, aversion, and undecided purpose ; various demonstrations were made of arbitrary design and tyrannical encroachment ; but, not being steadily prosecuted, they served merely to keep the colonists united by a sense of common danger, and to endear the institutions of liberty by the destruction with which they were ineffectually menaced. The king, in reviewing his first proceedings towards the emigrants, seems to have doubted pretty early the soundness of that policy which had prompted so wide a departure from the general principles of his administration ; the experience of every year tended to enhance his doubts ; and he wavered some time in irresolute perplexity between his original wish to evacuate England of the Puritans, and his apprehensions of the dangerous and increasing influence which their triumphant establishment in America was visibly exerting. The success of his politic devices appeared for a short time to answer all his expectations ; and he seemed likely to prevail over the Puritans by the demonstration of a hollow goodwill or lenity, suspended on the condition of their abandoning the realm. A considerable portion of the embers of Puritan and patriotic feeling had been removed from England, and consigned to deserts, where as yet no colony had been able to survive ; but they had neither languished nor perished ; and, on the contrary, had kindled in America a flame so powerful and diffusive, that even distant England was warmed and enlightened by the blaze. The jealous attention of Laud was soon awakened to the disastrous issue of that experiment ; and while he revolved the means by which its farther effects might be counteracted, he maintained spies in New England, whose

men whom England has ever produced contributed to lay the foundation of civilized society in America. The enumeration of the patentees in the Virginian charters includes almost every distinguished individual in England at the time.

The people of New England have always retained that generous zeal for the cultivation of knowledge which their fathers thus early displayed. In the year 1780, and in the midst of the Revolutionary War, an Academy of Arts and Sciences was established at Boston.

reports increased his misgivings, and who courted his favor by traducing the objects of his dislike. The detection of this correspondence served to animate the resentment and promote the caution and the union of the colonists.

So early as the year 1633, the English government, inspired with alarm, made a hasty and ill-considered attempt to repair its error, by issuing a proclamation reprobating the designs that prompted emigration to New England, and ordering all ships that were ready to proceed thither with passengers to be detained. It was soon perceived that this measure was premature, and that the only, or at least the most certain, consequence of it would be to inflame the impatience of the Puritans to obtain, either at home or abroad, the institutions which they had made preparation to establish and enjoy. Not only was the proclamation suffered to remain unexecuted, but even, at a later period, Charles reverted so far to his previous policy as to promote, by his own interposition, the expatriation of young Vane, of whose political and religious sentiments he was perfectly well informed. After an interval of hesitation, measures more deliberate were adopted for subverting the system of liberty that had been established in the provincial territory. In the year 1635, a commission was granted to the great officers of state and some of the nobility for the regulation and government of the American plantations. By this commission the Archbishop of Canterbury (Laud) and a few other distinguished associates were authorized to make laws and constitutions for the colonists of New England ; to establish an order of clergy, and assign them a maintenance ; and to punish capitally, or otherwise, all who should violate their ordinances. The same persons, in conjunction with a more numerous body of commissioners, were directed to examine all existing colonial patents and charters, *and, if they found that any had been unduly obtained, or that the liberties they conferred were hurtful to the prerogative royal, to cause them to be revoked and quashed.* The English Grand Council of New Plymouth were easily persuaded to give the first example of submission to this arbitrary authority ; and accordingly surrendered their useless patent to the king, under reservation of their claims as private individuals to the property of the soil. These reserved claims

gave occasion at an after period to much dispute, perplexity, and inconvenience. The only proceeding, however, which immediately ensued against the New England colonists, was the institution of a process of *quo warranto* against their charter in the Court of King's Bench, of which no intimation was given to the parties interested, and which was never prosecuted to a judicial issue.

It is vain to speculate on all the fluctuating motives and purposes that from time to time guided and varied the policy of the king. He was formed to hate and dread alike the growth of religious and political freedom ; but fated to render the highest service to the objects of his aversion by an ill-directed and unavailing hostility. In the year 1637, he granted a commission to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, appointing him governor-general of New England, and issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons from transporting themselves, or others, to that country, without a special permission under the great seal, — which, it was added, would be granted to none who could not produce credible certificates of their having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and of their having fully conformed to the ritual and ordinances of the church of England. But the critical state of affairs in Britain prevented the adoption of measures requisite to give effect to Gorges's commission ; and the irresistible impatience of the oppressed Puritans and votaries of liberty to escape from the increasing heat of persecution, or the approach of civil war, completely defeated the restrictions imposed on their emigration. We have seen, that, in the year 1638, a numerous transportation of additional emigrants took place. But before the close of that year, the king gave way to a singleness and obstinate directness of purpose which now alone was wanting to assure and accelerate his ruin ; and after a long course of wavering policy and unsuccessful experiment, he adopted a measure, which, unfortunately for himself, was effectual.

Learning that another fleet was preparing to sail for New England with a band of emigrants, among whom were some of the most eminent leaders of the patriots and Puritans, he caused an order of council to be issued for its detention ; and the injunction being promptly enforced, the intended voyage

was prevented. On board this fleet there appear to have been, among other distinguished individuals, Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell,¹—men to whom, but a few years after, Charles was fain to tender the highest offices in his realm, and whom his blind injustice now detained to avenge the tyranny by which so many of their friends had been driven away. Various proclamations were issued the same year for the prevention of emigration to New England, which, accordingly, from this time was for many years discontinued.² These measures inflamed to the highest pitch the discontent that had long rankled in the minds of a great body of the people. Even the hospitality of rude deserts, it was declared, was denied to the oppressed inhabitants of England; and men were constrained to inquire if the evils which could not be evaded might not be repelled, and, since retreat was impracticable, if resistance might not be availing. By promoting emigration at first, the king opened a vein which it was impossible to close, without incurring considerable danger; and the increased severity of his administration augmented the flow of evil humors at the very time when he thus imprudently deprived them of their accustomed vent.

¹ That Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet, or that they even intended to repair to America, has been doubted, but I think without good reason. Hume (contrary to his own intention) has rather confirmed than removed the doubt, by the manner in which he has referred to a passage in Hutchinson, the meaning of which he has evidently misunderstood. But Dr. Mather, who preceded Hutchinson, expressly names all the individuals mentioned in the text as having prepared for their voyage, and been arrested by the order of council. Oldmixon recites the grant of land in America in favor of *Hampden* and others, which the emigrants were proceeding to occupy. Mather's statement is confirmed by Neal, Clarendon, Bates, and Dugdale. The strong mind of Cromwell appears long to have retained the bias it had once received towards emigration, and the favorable opinion of the colonists of New England, from which that bias was partly derived. After the *Remonstrance* was voted in the Long Parliament, he told Lord Falkland, that, if the debate had been attended with a different result, he was prepared next day to have converted his effects into ready money and to quit the kingdom. When he was invested with the Protectorate, he treated Massachusetts with distinguished partiality. Hume considered himself as levelling a most sarcastic reflection against Hampden and Cromwell, when he described them as willing to cross the Atlantic Ocean for the sake of saying their prayers. Other writers, who partake the political, but not the religious, sentiments of these eminent persons, have been very willing to defend them from this imputation.

Some historians have asserted that Hampden did actually, at one time, visit North America; and, doubtless, in the year 1623, there was at New Plymouth an Englishman named John Hampden, whom Winslow describes as "a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country."—Belknap's *American Biography*.

² Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Oldmixon. Chalmers. Hazard.

The previous emigration had already drained the Puritan body of a great number of those of its members whose milder tempers and meeker strain of piety rendered them more desirous than the generality of their brethren to decline a contest with their sovereign ; the present restrictions forcibly retained in the realm men of more daring spirit and trained in experience of enmity to his person and opposition to his measures.¹ He now at last succeeded in stripping his subjects of every protection that the law could extend to their rights ; and was destined soon to experience how completely he had divested them of every restraint that the law could impose on the vindictive retribution of their wrongs. From this period till the assembling of the Long Parliament, he pursued a short and headlong career of disgrace and disaster ; while a gross infatuation veiled from his eyes the gulf of destruction to which his steps were advancing.

In pursuance of the policy which the king at length determined openly and vigorously to employ, a requisition was transmitted by the privy council to the governor and General Court of Massachusetts, commanding them to deliver up their patent, to be conveyed by the first ship that should sail for England, in order that it might abide the issue of the process of *quo warranto* that was depending against the colony. To this requisition the General Court [September, 1638] returned for answer a humble and earnest petition that the colonists might be suffered to plead in their own behalf before they were condemned. They declared that they had transported their families to America, and embarked their fortunes in the colonial project, in reliance on his Majesty's license and encouragement ; that they had never willingly or knowingly offended him, and now humbly deprecated his wrath, and solicited to be heard with their patent in their hands. If it were forcibly withdrawn from them, they protested that they must either return to England or seek the hospitality of more distant

¹ The commencement of resistance in Scotland originated with some individuals of that country who had purchased a tract of territory in New England, and made preparation to transport themselves thither, but were prevented (it does not appear how) from carrying their design into execution. They had obtained from the assembly of Massachusetts an assurance of the free exercise of their Presbyterian form of church government. — Mather.

regions. But they prayed that they might "be suffered to live in the wilderness," where they had till now found a resting-place; and might experience in their exile some of that favor from the ruler of their native land which they had largely experienced from the Lord and Judge of all the Earth. They retained possession of their patent while they waited an answer to this petition, which, happily for their liberties, they were destined never to receive. The insurrections which soon after broke out in Scotland directed the whole attention of the king to matters which more nearly concerned him; and the long gathering storm, which was now visibly preparing to burst upon him from every corner of his dominions, engaged him to contract as far as possible the sphere of hostility in which he found himself involved.¹ The benefit of his altered views was experienced by the Virginians, in the abolition of the despotism to which he had previously subjected them; and by the inhabitants of New England, in the cessation of his attempts to supersede by a similar despotism the liberal institutions which they had hitherto enjoyed. He would doubtless now have readily consented to disencumber himself of some of his domestic adversaries by promoting the emigration which of late he so imprudently obstructed; but such a revolution of sentiment had taken place in England, and such interesting prospects began to open to the patriots and Puritans at home, that the motives which formerly induced them to migrate to the New World ceased any longer to prevail.

When the intercourse which for twenty years had subsisted between New England and the parent state was thus interrupted, the number of the colonists amounted to about twenty thousand persons,² or four thousand families, including a hundred ministers. The expenditure already incurred in equipping vessels and transporting emigrants amounted to nearly

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. This year (1638) was distinguished by an earthquake in New England, which extended through all the settlements, and shook the ships in Boston harbour and the neighbouring islands. The sound of it reminded some of the colonists of the rattling of coaches in the streets of London.—Winthrop's *Journal*. Trumbull.

² Josselyn's *Voyage to New England*. Hutchinson. Josselyn, who visited New England more than once, was intrusted by Quarles, the poet, with some of his metrical versions of Scripture, to be submitted to the perusal and judgment of John Cotton.

two hundred thousand pounds, — a prodigious sum in that age, and which nothing but the grand and unconquerable principle which animated the Puritans could have persuaded men to expend on the prospect of forming an establishment in a remote, uncultivated desert, offering to its inhabitants merely a plain, unadorned freedom and difficult subsistence. When the civil war broke out in the parent state, the colonists had already founded fifty towns and villages ; they had erected upwards of thirty churches and ministers' houses ; and combining with their preponderating regard to the concerns of religion a diligent and judicious conduct of their temporal affairs, they had improved their estates to a high degree of cultivation. During the first seven years of the infancy of the settlement that was founded in 1630, even subsistence was procured with difficulty, and trade was not generally attempted ;¹ but soon after that period, the people began to extend their fishery, and to open a trade in lumber, which subsequently proved the staple article of New England commerce. In the year 1637, there were but thirty ploughs in the whole province of Massachusetts, and less than the third of that number in Connecticut. The culture of the earth was generally performed with hoes, and was consequently slow and laborious. Every commodity bore a high price. Though money was extremely scarce, the price of a good cow was thirty pounds ; Indian corn cost five shillings a bushel ; labor and every other useful commodity was proportionably dear.

Necessity at first introduced what the jurisprudence of the colonists afterwards confirmed ; and desiring to perpetuate the habits that had proved so conducive to piety and virtue, they endeavoured by legislative enactments to exclude luxury and promote industry. When the assembling of the Long Parliament opened a prospect of safety, and even of triumph and supremacy, to the Puritans in England, many persons who had taken refuge in America returned to their native country ; but a great majority of the emigrants had experienced so much of the substance and happiness of religious life in the societies

¹ Yet in the year 1636, a ship of one hundred and twenty tons was built at Marblehead by the people of Salem. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

already formed within the colony, that they felt themselves united to New England by stronger and nobler ties than any that patriotic recollections could supply ; and resolved to abide in the region which their virtue had converted from a wilderness into a garden. In these infant societies of men, devoted to godliness and liberty, all hearts were strongly united by community of feeling on subjects the most interesting and important ; the inhabitants were in general very nearly on a level in point of temporal condition ; the connections of neighbourhood operated as extended family ties ; and the minds of all were warmed and invigorated by a primitive friendliness, freedom, and simplicity of mutual communication.¹ And yet some indications of an aristocratical disposition, arising, not unnaturally, from peculiar circumstances that occurred in the formation of the colonial settlements, did occasionally manifest themselves. Several of the first planters, particularly Dudley, Winthrop,² Bradford, Bellingham, and Bradstreet, were persons of ample fortune ; and besides the transportation of their own families, they had borne the charge of transporting many poor families who must otherwise have remained in England. Others were members of the original body of patentees, and had incurred expenses in the procurement of the charter, the

¹ The following passage in a sermon of Robert Cushman, one of the earliest ministers of New Plymouth, is characteristic of this state of society : — “ Remember, brethren, that ye have given your names and promises to one another, here to cleave together. You must, then, seek the wealth of one another, and inquire, as David, How liveth such a man ? how is he clad ? how is he fed ? He is my brother, my associate, and we ventured our lives together. Is his labor harder than mine ? surely, I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on ? I have two ; I’ll lend him one. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other ; so that his wants must be my wants, and his welfare my welfare.” — Belknap’s *American Biography*.

² Winthrop “ had not so high an opinion of a democratical government as some other gentlemen of equal wisdom and goodness.” He remarked that “ the best part of a community is always the least, and of that best part the wiser is still less. Therefore it is written, Choose ye judges, and bring the cause before the judge.” Belknap’s *American Biography*. Not accounting superiority of wealth or of bodily accomplishments (the only distinctions universally palpable to mankind) infallible indications of superiority in moral and intellectual worth, Winthrop suggests no better success for the ascertainment and promotion of the good and wise minority, than the elective judgment of the less wise and worthy majority. Nor has a more honest or rational suggestion been ever propounded. The greatest happiness of all might and should be the motive principle of political institutions in communities of men all wise and good. But with the actual imperfection of human intelligence and virtue, we are content to accept the term (continually enlarged by human advancement) of the *greatest happiness of the greatest number*.

formation of the company, the equipment of the first body of adventurers, and the purchase of the soil from the natives, of which they had now no prospect of obtaining reimbursement. On this class of planters the chief offices of government naturally devolved during the infancy of the settlements, and long continued to be discharged by them without other pecuniary recompense than presents, which were occasionally voted to them by the gratitude of their fellow-citizens. It was probably owing to the prevalence of the peculiar sentiments inspired by the services of these persons, that, in the first General Court which was assembled in Massachusetts, the election of the governor, the appointment of all the other officers, and even the power of legislation, were withdrawn from the freemen, and vested in the Council of Assistants ; and although the freemen reclaimed and resumed their rights in the following year, yet the practical exercise of legislation was confined almost entirely to the Council of Assistants, till the introduction of the representative system in the year 1634. From this time the council and the freemen, assembled together, formed the *General Court*, till the year 1644, when it was arranged that the governor and assistants should sit apart ; and thence commenced the separate existence of the democratic branch of the legislature, or House of Representatives. Elections were conducted by *ballot*, in which the balls or tickets tendered by the electors consisted of Indian beans.¹

Some notice of the peculiarities of jurisprudence that already prevailed in the various communities of New England will serve to illustrate the state of society and manners that sprung up at first among this singular people. By a fundamental law of Massachusetts it was enacted, "that all strangers professing the Christian religion, who shall flee to this country from the tyranny of their persecutors, shall be succoured at the public charge till some provision can be made for them." Jesuits and other Romish priests, however, were doomed to banishment, and, in case of their return, to death. This cruel ordinance was afterwards extended to Quakers ; and all per-

¹ Winthrop's *Journal*. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Trumbull. Holmes's *American Annals*. (This is, perhaps, the most excellent chronological digest of its history that any nation has ever possessed.) Belknap's *American Biography*.

sons were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to import any of "that cursed sect," or of their writings, into the colony. By what behaviour the Quakers of that age provoked so much aversion and such rigorous treatment we shall have an opportunity of considering hereafter. An ordinance of the General Court of Massachusetts in the year 1637 (prompted apparently by Mrs. Hutchinson's schism) forbade the residence within that colony of any stranger unprovided with the license of a provincial magistrate ; but this illiberal ordinance (which was warmly combated by Henry Vane) seems never to have obtained any practical efficiency. These persecuting edicts had no place in Rhode Island, where nobody was exposed to active molestation for religious opinions, and all professors of Christianity, except Roman Catholics, were admitted to the full rights of citizenship. All persons were forbidden to run, or even walk, "except reverently to and from church," on Sunday, or to profane the day by sweeping their houses, cooking their victuals, or shaving their beards. Mothers were even commanded not to kiss their children on that sacred day. The usual punishments of great crimes were disfranchisement, banishment, and temporary servitude ; but perpetual slavery was not permitted to be inflicted upon any persons except captives lawfully taken in war ; and these were to be treated with the gentleness of Christian manners, and to be entitled to all the mitigations of their lot enjoined by the law of Moses. Disclaiming all but defensive war, the colonists considered themselves entitled and constrained in self-defence to deprive their assailants of a liberty which they had abused and rendered inconsistent with the safety of their neighbours. The practice, nevertheless, was impolitic, to say no worse, and served to pave the way, at a later period, for the introduction of negro slavery into New England.

Adultery was punished by death ; and fornication by compelling the offending parties to marry (an absurd device, which discredits the state of marriage), or by fine and imprisonment. Burglary and robbery were punished, for the first offence, by branding ; for the second, by branding and flogging ; for the third, by death : but if either of these crimes, while yet not inferring a capital punishment, were committed on Sunday, an

ear was to be cut off in addition to the other inflictions. We must beware of supposing that such penal enactments indicate the frequency or even the actual occurrence of the crimes to which they refer. In those communities where civilization has been a gradual attainment, penal laws denote the prevalence of the actions they condemn. But in communities at once infant and civilized, many of the laws must be regarded merely as the expression of the opinion of the legislators, and by no means as indicating the actual condition of society. Blasphemy and idolatry were punishable by death ; and though it was acknowledged in the preamble to one of the laws, " that no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men," yet heresy, by this very law, was declared to infer banishment from the province. Pecuniary mulcts were imposed on every person " observing any such day as Christmas." Witchcraft and perjury, directed against human life, were capitally punished. No capital charge was deemed capable of being proved by evidence less weighty than the oaths of two witnesses, — a principle that deserves to be universally established, as well on account of its own intrinsic rectitude as of the sanction it received from divine legislation. By a singular law, which, both from its peculiar terms and from its never having been carried into effect, is more discreditable to the wisdom of its framers than to the humanity of the people at large, it was enacted, that, although torture should not be ordinarily inflicted, yet a convicted criminal, known to have had accomplices, and refusing to disclose them, might be subjected to torture, — " yet not to such tortures as are barbarous and inhuman."

All gaming was prohibited ; cards and dice were forbidden to be imported ; and assemblies for dancing were proscribed. Public registers were instituted, in which all the marriages, births, and deaths of the colonists were recorded. By a law enacted in 1646, kissing a woman in the street, even in the way of honest salute, was punished by flogging, which was not considered an infamous punishment by the people of Massachusetts. Even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, there were instances of persons, who, after undergoing public flagellation, associated with the most respectable cir-

cles of society in Boston. This doubtless arose from the peculiar character of the government, which, seeming to hold a patriarchal relation to the people, could never be supposed, in correcting an offender, to divest itself entirely of respect and good-will for him. The economy of inns was regulated with a strictness which deserves to be noted, as explanatory of a circumstance that has frequently excited the surprise of European travellers in America. The intemperance and immorality to which these places are so often made subservient was punished with the utmost rigor ; and all innkeepers were required, under the severest penalties, to restrain the excesses of their guests, or to acquaint the magistrate with their perpetration. To secure a stricter execution of this law, it was judged expedient that innkeepers should be divested of the temptation that poverty presents to its infraction, and should enjoy such personal consideration as would facilitate the exercise of their difficult duty ; and, accordingly, none were permitted to follow this calling but persons of approved character and competent estate. One of the consequences of this policy has been, that an employment, very little respected in other countries, has ever been creditable in New England, and not unfrequently pursued by men who have retired from honorable stations in the civil or military service of the state.

Persons wearing apparel, which the grand jury should account disproportioned to their fortune, were to be admonished in the first instance, and, if contumacious, fined. A fine was imposed on every woman cutting her hair like a man's, or suffering it to hang loosely upon her face. Idleness, lying, swearing, and drunkenness were visited with various penalties and marks of disgrace.¹ The *selectmen* assessed, in every family,

¹ That these laws were not permitted to be a dead letter appears from the following extracts from the earliest records of the court of Massachusetts. " John Wedgewood, *for being in the company of drunkards*, to be set in the stocks. Catharine, the wife of Richard Cornish, was found *suspicious of incontinency*, and seriously admonished to take heed. Thomas Petit, for *suspicion of slander, idleness, and stubbornness*, is sentenced to be severely whipped. Captain Lovel admonished to take heed of *light carriage*. Josias Plaistowe, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, is ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr., as formerly he used to be." Hutchinson. Few obtained the title of Mr. in the colony ; still fewer that of Esquire. Goodman and Goodwife were the common appellations. It was by merit and public services, rather than wealth, that the distinctive appellations were

the quantity of spinning which the young women were reckoned capable of producing, and enforced by fines the production of the requisite quantities. Usury was forbidden ; and the prohibition was not confined to the interest of money, but extended to the hire of laboring cattle and implements of husbandry. Persons deserting the English settlements, and living in heathen license and profanity, were punished by fine and imprisonment. A male child above sixteen years of age, accused by his parents of rebellion against them and general misconduct, incurred (conformably with the Mosaic code) the doom of capital punishment ; and any person courting a maid, without the sanction of her parents, was fined and imprisoned. Yet the parental authority was not left unregulated. All parents were commanded to instruct and catechize their children and servants, whom the selectmen or overseers were directed to remove from their authority and commit to fitter hands, if the parents or masters were found deficient in this duty ; and children were allowed to seek redress from the magistrate, if they were arbitrarily restrained from marriage. The celebration of the nuptial ceremony was confined to the magistrate, or such other persons as the General Court might authorize to perform it. The provincial law of tenures was exceedingly simple and concise. The charter had conveyed the territory to the company and its assigns ; and by an early law of the province, it was provided, " that five years' quiet possession shall be deemed a sufficient title." Instead of proclaiming or intending that the deficiencies of the provincial code should be supplied by the common or statute law of England, it was an-

gained. *Ibid.* The strictness and scrupulosity of manners, affected by many of the inhabitants, exceeded the standard of the laws ; and associations were formed for suppressing the practices of drinking healths, and of wearing long hair and periwigs. *Ibid.* In some instances, the purposes of these associations were afterwards sanctioned and enforced by the laws. " They thought the magistrates, being God's ministers, were bound to punish all offences in their courts in the same proportion as the Supreme Judge would punish them in the court of heaven." *Ibid.* This notion frequently involved the magistrates in most absurd and indecent inquisitions ; some of which, to the disgrace of Puritan jurisprudence, have been preserved in Winthrop's *Journal*. It is related of some of the earlier settlers, that, with an outrageous exaggeration of rigidity, they refrained from brewing on Saturday, because the beer would work upon Sunday. Douglas, *Summary of the British Settlements in America*. A farmer in New Hampshire found great difficulty in escaping excommunication for having shot, on Sunday, a bear that was wasting his fields. Graham's *Sketch of Vermont*.

nounced, that, in cases where redress of wrongs or remedy of inconvenience was not provided by the ordinances or customary practice of the province, recourse should be had to the pages of holy writ.¹

Like the tribes of Israel, the colonists of New England had forsaken their native land after a long and severe persecution, and journeyed into a wilderness for the sake of religion. Like the Israelites, they compared themselves to a vine brought out of Egypt, and planted by the Lord in a land from which the heathen were cast forth. They endeavoured to cherish a resemblance of condition, so honorable and so fraught with incitements to piety, by cultivating a conformity between their laws and customs and those which distinguished the ancient people of God. Hence arose some of the peculiarities which we have observed in their legislative code ; and hence arose also the practice of commencing their sabbatical observances on Saturday evening. The same predilection for Jewish customs begot, or at least promoted, among them the habit of bestowing significant names on children, of whom the first three that were baptized in Boston church received the names of Joy, Recompense, and Pity. This custom seems to have obtained the greatest prevalence in the town of Dorchester, which long continued to be remarkable for such names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preserved, Content, Prudence, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfast, and others of a similar character.²

¹ *Abridgment of the Ordinances of New England*, apud Neal. Hutchinson. Trumbull. Josselyn. Burnaby's *Travels in America*. Chalmers. Winthrop's *Journal*. Holmes's *Account of the Blue Laws of Connecticut*, in the *Rhode Island Farmers' and Manufacturers' Journal*. The primitive rigidity discernible in some of these laws was tempered by a patriarchal mildness of administration. Many instances of this occur in Mather's *Lives of the Governors of New England*. One I may be permitted to notice as a specimen. Governor Winthrop, being urged to prosecute and punish a man who pillaged his magazine of firewood in winter, declared he would soon cure him of that malpractice ; and, accordingly, sending for the delinquent, he told him, "You have a large family, and I have a large magazine of wood ; come as often to it as you please, and take as much of it as you need to make your dwelling comfortable." — "And now," he added, turning to his friends, "I defy him to steal my firewood again."

² *History of the British Dominions in America*.

CHAPTER III.

New England embraces the Cause of the Parliament. — Federal Union between the New England States. — Provincial Coinage of Money. — Disputes occasioned by the Disfranchisement of Dissenters in Massachusetts. — Impeachment and Trial of Governor Winthrop. — Arbitrary Proceedings against the Dissenters. — Attempts to convert and civilize the Indians. — Character and Labors of Eliot and Mayhew. — Indian Bible printed in Massachusetts. — Effects of the Missionary Labor. — A Synod of the New England Churches. — Dispute between Massachusetts and the Long Parliament. — The Colony foils the Parliament — and is favored by Cromwell. — The Protector's Administration beneficial to New England. — He conquers Acadia. — His Propositions to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts — declined by them. — Persecution of the Anabaptists in Massachusetts. — Conduct and Sufferings of the Quakers. — The Restoration. — Address of Massachusetts to Charles the Second. — Alarm of the Colonists — their Declaration of Rights. — The King's Message to Massachusetts — how far complied with. — Royal Charter of Incorporation to Rhode Island and Providence — and to Connecticut and New Haven.

THE coincidence between the principles of the New England colonists and those of the prevailing party in the Long Parliament [1641] was cemented by the consciousness, that with the success of this party was identified the security of the provincial institutions from the dangers that had so recently menaced them. As soon as the colonists were informed of the convocation of that famous assembly, they despatched Hugh Peters and two other persons to promote their interests in the parent state. The mission proved more fortunate for New England than for her ambassadors. By an ordinance of the House of Commons¹ in the following year, the inhabitants of all the various plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods carried thither, or upon goods imported by them into the mother country, "until the House shall make further order therein to the con-

¹ The reasons assigned by the House for this ordinance are, that the plantations of New England are likely to conduce to the propagation of the gospel, and already "have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to the state.*"

trary." The colonists, in return, cordially embraced the cause of their benefactors ; and when the civil wars broke out in England [1642], they published a decree expressive of their approbation of the measures of parliament, and denouncing capital punishment against all persons who should disturb the peace of the commonwealth by endeavouring to raise a party for the king of England, or by discriminating between the king and the parliament, which pursued (it was declared) the true interests of the king as well as its own. Happily for themselves, the colonists were unable to signalize their predilection by more active interference in the contest ; and, with a prudent regard to their commercial interests, they gave free ingress into their harbours to trading vessels from the ports in possession of the royalists. They had likewise the good sense to decline an invitation they received to depute John Cotton, and others of their ministers, to attend, as provincial delegates, the celebrated Assembly of Divines convoked at Westminster.

Encouraged by the privileges that were conferred on them, they pursued the cultivation of their soil with unremitting ardor ; and their wealth and population rapidly increased. From the continent they began to extend their occupation to the adjacent islands ; and one planter, in particular, having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Islands, laid the foundation there of settlements that afterwards proved highly serviceable to the conversion and civilization of the Indians. But a contemporaneous attempt which they made to extend, if not their settlements, at least their principles, in another quarter of the continent, was attended with unfortunate results. The colonists of Virginia were in general stanch royalists ; and, with little concern for the substance of religion, professed a strong attachment to the forms and institutions of the church of England. Yet, as we have seen, they received, even as early as the reign of James, an accession to their numbers, composed of persons who had imbibed Puritan sentiments, and were fugitives from ecclesiastical persecution in Britain. A deputation from this class of the Virginian planters had been lately sent to Boston to represent their destitution of proper ministers, and solicit a supply of pastors from the New England churches. In compliance with this

request, three clergymen were selected to repair as missionaries to Virginia, and furnished with recommendatory letters from the governor of Massachusetts to Sir William Berkeley. [1642.] On their arrival in Virginia, they began to preach in various parts of the country, and the people flocked to hear them with an eagerness that might have been productive of important consequences. But the Puritan principles, as well as the political sentiments, of the colonists of New England were too much the objects of aversion to Sir William Berkeley, to admit of his patronage being afforded to an enterprise intended and adapted to propagate their influence among his own people. So far from complying with the desire of his brother governor, he issued a proclamation, by which all persons who would not conform to the ceremonial of the church of England were commanded straightway to depart from Virginia. The preachers accordingly returned to New England ; and thus was laid the foundation of a jealousy which long subsisted between the two oldest provinces of North America.¹

The disappointment occasioned by this fruitless attempt to establish a friendly connection with the sister colony of Virginia was counterbalanced in the following year [1643] by an important event in the history of the New England settlements ; — the formation of a league by which they were knit together in a federal union that greatly augmented their security and power. The Narraganset Indians had by this time reflected at leisure on the policy of their conduct towards the Pequods ; and the hatred which they formerly cherished against this tribe, being extinguished in the destruction of its objects, was succeeded by an angry jealousy of those strangers who obviously derived the chief and only lasting advantage which the conflict had yielded. They saw the territories of their ancient rivals occupied by a much more formidable neighbour ; and mistaking their own inability to improve their condition for the effect of fraud and injustice on the part of the colonists, who were rapidly surpassing them in number, wealth, and power, they began to complain that the plunder of the Pequods had not been fairly divided, and concerted measures with some of the

¹ Hutchinson. Neal. Hazard.

neighbouring tribes for a general insurrection of the Indians against the English. Their designs had advanced but a little way towards maturity, when they were detected, in consequence of an emergent quarrel with another tribe, which they pursued with an imprudent indulgence of that inordinate appetite for present revenge which seemed fated to disconcert and defeat their political views. The colonists, from the groundless murmurs they found themselves exposed to, and which proved only the rooted dislike of the savages, were sensible of their own danger, without yet being aware of its extent, or feeling themselves authorized to anticipate by defensive hostility some more certain indication of it; when, fortunately, they were invited to act as mediators between two contending tribes. The Narragansets, having conceived some disgust against a neighbouring chief, employed an assassin to kill him; and, failing in this attempt, plunged into a war, with the declared intention of exterminating the whole of his tribe. This tribe, who were at peace with the English, implored the protection of the Massachusetts government, which agreed to interpose in their behalf. The Narragansets, apprized of this transaction, recollecting the terrible punishment inflicted on the Pequods, and conscious that they themselves justly merited a similar visitation, were struck with dismay, and, throwing down their arms, acceded to a treaty of peace dictated to them by the English. When their immediate apprehensions subsided, they showed so little regard to the performance of their paction, that it was not till the colonists made a demonstration of readiness to employ force that they sullenly fulfilled it.

Alarmed by such indications of fickleness, dislike, and furious passion, and ascertaining by dint of inquiry the design that had been recently proposed and entertained of a general conspiracy of the Indians, — the authorities of Massachusetts conceived the defensive project of providing, by a mutual concert of the colonies, for the common danger which they might expect to encounter at no distant day, when the savages, instructed by experience, would sacrifice their private feuds to combined hostility against a race of strangers whose progressive advancement seemed to minister occasion of increasing and incurable jealousy to the whole Indian race. Having composed,

for this purpose, a plan which was framed in imitation of the bond of union between the Dutch provinces, and which readily suggested itself to some leading personages among the colonists who had resided with the Brownist congregation in Holland, they communicated it to the neighbouring settlements of New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, by which it was cordially embraced. These four colonies, accordingly, entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. [May 19, 1643.] The instrument of confederation between them announced that their respective inhabitants *had all come into these parts of America with the same errand and aim, to advance the Christian religion, and enjoy the liberty of their consciences with purity and peace.* It was stipulated, that the confederates should thenceforth be distinguished by the title of The United Colonies of New England; that each province should remain a separate and distinct municipal association, and retain independent jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates should furnish its quota of men, money, and provisions, at a rate to be fixed from time to time in proportion to the population of the respective communities; that a council, composed of two commissioners from each province, should be annually convoked and empowered to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; and that every resolve, sanctioned by the approbation of six of the commissioners, should be binding on all the associated provinces. Every province renounced the right of protecting fugitive debtors or criminals from the legal process of the particular community which they might have wronged and deserted. The State of Rhode Island, which was not included in this confederacy, petitioned a few years after to be admitted into it; but her request was refused, except on the condition, which she declined, of merging her separate existence in an incorporation with the colony of New Plymouth. Thus excluded from the benefit of the federal union, and in a manner dissociated from the other States, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavoured to promote their separate security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians; and the humane and courteous

policy which this purpose taught them to pursue proved remarkably successful.¹

The colonists have been reproached with arrogating the prerogative of sovereignty in this transaction, — which, doubtless, wears all the features of a direct approach to political independence. Yet it was a measure that could hardly be avoided by a people surrounded with enemies, and abandoned to their own guidance and resources, in a territory many thousand miles distant from the seat of the government that claimed supreme dominion over them. Of a community so situated every progressive step in social advancement, whether consisting in the enlargement of its numbers or the concentration of its resources, or otherwise tending to increase its power and promote its security, was a step towards national independence. Nothing but some curiously politic system, or such a series of events as might have kept the various settlements continually disunited in mutual jealousy and consequent weakness, could have secured their protracted existence as a dependent progeny of England. But whatever effects the transaction which we have remarked may have silently produced on the course of American sentiment and opinion, and however likely it may now appear to have planted the seminal idea of independence in the minds of the colonists, it was regarded neither by themselves nor by their English rulers as indicating pretensions unsuitable to their condition. Even after the Restoration, the commissioners of the federal union were repeatedly noticed and recognized in the letters and official instruments of Charles the Second; and the league itself, with some alterations, subsisted till very near the era of the British Revolution. A few years after its establishment, the principal object which engaged its deliberations and exertions was the religious instruction of the Indians, — an object which was pursued in coöperation with the society instituted by parliament in Britain for propagating the gospel in New England.²

While the colonists were thus employed in devising measures calculated to guard, confirm, and mature their institutions,

¹ Increase Mather's *New England Troubles*. Neal. Hutchinson. Pitkin's *History*.

² Hutchinson.

the parliament enacted an ordinance of which the principle menaced those institutions with an entire overthrow. [1643.] It appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief, and lord high admiral of all the British colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners to assist him; it empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to investigate the actual condition of the colonies; to require the production of their patents and records, and the personal attendance and testimony of any of their inhabitants; to remove governors and other provincial magistrates; to replace them by proper successors; and to delegate to these new functionaries as much of the power conferred on himself as he should think proper. This ordinance, which created an authority that might have new-modelled all the provincial governments, and abrogated all their charters, was not suffered to remain wholly inoperative. To some of the colonial commonwealths the parliamentary council extended protection, and even granted new patents.¹ Happily for Massachusetts, either the peculiar favor and indulgence of which she was deemed worthy, or the absorbing interest of the great struggle with which England was shaken, prevented any interference with her institutions, until a period when her provincial assembly was able, as we shall see, to employ defensive measures that eluded the undesirable interposition without disputing the formidable authority of the parliamentary council.

Various disputes had arisen of late years between the inhabitants of New England and the French settlers in Acadia or Nova Scotia. These differences were now [1644] adjusted by a treaty between a commissioner for the king of France on the one part, and *John Endicott, governor of New England, and the rest of the magistrates there*, on the other.² The colonists had already debarred themselves from recognizing the king as a distinct authority from the parliament; and they probably found it difficult to explain to the other contracting parties to what denomination of sovereign power they owned allegiance. This state of things, as it engendered practices, so it may have secretly fostered sentiments, that savored of independ-

¹ *Journals of the House of Lords.* Chalmers. The people of Maine solicited the protection of the council in 1651. — Hazard.

² Hutchinson.

ence. A practice strongly denoting pretension to sovereign authority was adopted a few years after,¹ when the increasing trade of the colonists with the West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was conveyed through this channel into New England, induced the provincial authorities to erect a mint for the coinage of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on the one side ; of Massachusetts, as the principal settlement, on the other ; and with a tree, as the symbol of national vigor and increase. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin money ; and, indeed, this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered," says one of the New England historians, "that at this time there was no king in Israel." In the distracted state of the mother country, it might well be judged unsafe to send bullion there to be coined ; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which would finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament, of Cromwell, and even of Charles the Second, during twenty years of his reign.²

The separation of the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts naturally gave rise to some disputes respecting the boundaries of jurisdiction in a constitution not yet matured by practice. But what precedent could not supply, the influence of the provincial clergy was able to accomplish. [1644.] By common consent, all the ministers were summoned to attend the session of the assembly, and the points at issue being submitted to them, their decision was honored with immediate and universal acquiescence.³ But in the following year [1645], a dispute more violent in its nature, and less creditable and satisfactory in its result, was occasioned in this commonwealth by the intolerance which we have already noted in its original institutions. With the growing prosperity and importance of the provincial society, the value of its political franchises was

¹ In 1652.

² Hutchinson.

³ Ibid.

felt to be proportionably augmented ; and the increasing opulence and respectability of the dissenters seemed to aggravate the hardship of the disfranchisement to which they were subjected. Some of these persons, having proceeded with violence to assume the privileges from which they were excluded by law, and disturbed an election by their interference, were punished by Winthrop, the deputy-governor, who vigorously resisted and defeated their pretensions. They complained of this treatment to the General Court by a petition couched in very strong language, demanding leave to impeach the deputy-governor before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, and to submit to the same tribunal the consideration of their general sufferings, as well as of the particular severities they had experienced from Winthrop. The grievances under which they labored were enumerated in the petition, which contained a forcible remonstrance against the injustice of depriving them of the rights of freemen, because they could not conscientiously unite with the congregational churches, or when they solicited admission into them were arbitrarily rejected by the ministers. They contended that either the full rights of citizenship should be communicated to them, or that they should no longer be required to obey laws to which they had not given assent, to contribute to the maintenance of ministers from whose labors they derived no advantage, or to pay taxes imposed by an assembly in which they were not represented. The court was so far moved by the petition, or by the respectability of its promoters, that Winthrop was commanded to defend himself publicly, before the magistrates, from the charges which it advanced against him.

On the day appointed for his trial, he descended from his official seat on the bench, he being one of the magistrates, and, placing himself at the bar in presence of a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants, he addressed himself to explain and vindicate his conduct. Having clearly proved that the proceedings for which he was impeached were sanctioned by law, and that the sole object of them was to maintain the existing institutions, by the exercise of the authority confided to him for this purpose, he concluded an excellent harangue in the following terms :—“ Though I be justified before men, yet it may be,

the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my administration as calls me to be humbled ; and, indeed, for me to have been thus charged by men is a matter of humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed." Then desiring leave to propose some considerations by which he hoped to rectify the opinions of the people on the nature of government : "The questions," he observed, "that have troubled the country have been about the authority of the magistracy and the liberty of the people. It is you who have called us unto this office ; but being thus called, we have our authority from God. Magistracy is the ordinance of God, and it hath the image of God stamped upon it ; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. I entreat you to consider, that, when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject unto like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe censurers of ours. The covenant between us and you is the oath you have exacted of us, which is to this purpose, *that we shall govern you and judge your causes according to God's laws and the particular statutes of the land, according to our best skill.* As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it ; and if there be an error only therein, and not in the will, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list. This liberty is inconsistent with authority ; impatient of all restraint (by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores*), 't is the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority ; it is a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives ; and whatsoever crosses it is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority ; and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and

lose their true liberty by their murmuring at the honor and power of authority."

The circumstances in which this address was delivered recall the most interesting scenes of Greek and Roman story, while, in the wisdom, piety, and dignity that it breathes, it resembles the magnanimous vindication of a judge of Israel. Winthrop was not only acquitted by the judicial sentence of the court and the approving voice of the public, but recommended so strongly to the esteem of his fellow-citizens by this and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen governor of Massachusetts every year after as long as he lived.¹ [1646.] His accusers incurred a proportional degree of public displeasure; their petition was rejected, and several of the chief promoters of it were severely reprimanded, and adjudged to make open acknowledgment of their fault in seeking to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony. Refusing to acknowledge that they had acted amiss, and still persisting in their clamor for an alteration of the law, with very indiscreet threats of complaining to the parliament, they were punished with fine or imprisonment. Most of them were known or believed to incline to the ecclesiastical form of Presbytery; and as this peculiar constitution was also affected by the prevailing party in the English House of Commons, the menace of a complaint to parliament excited general anger and alarm. A deputation of the malcontents having made preparation to sail for England, and given significant hints of the changes they hoped to procure by their machinations in the parent state, some of them were placed under arrest, and their papers were seized and examined. Among these papers were found petitions to Lord Warwick, urging a forfeiture of the provincial

¹ This excellent magistrate (says Cotton Mather) continually exemplified the maxim of Theodosius, that, *If any man speak evil of the ruler, if it be through lightness, 't is to be contemned; if it be through madness, 't is to be pitied; if through malice, 't is to be forgiven.* One of the colonists, who had long manifested much ill-will towards his person, at length wrote to him, "Sir, your overcoming of yourself hath overcome me." At his third election to the office of governor, he declared, in a speech to his fellow-citizens, that he had hitherto accepted *with a trembling hand* the presents by which they had acknowledged his services, and could no longer consent to a repetition of them. In the close of his life, he is said to have expressed regret for the sanction he had given to intolerance. His death, in 1649, was deeply and universally bewailed; and all declared that he had been the father of the colony, and the first alike in virtue and in place.

charter, the introduction of a Presbyterian establishment, and of the whole code of English jurisprudence, into the provincial institutions, together with various other innovations, which were represented as at once accordant with legislatorial wisdom and justice, and conducive to the important object of securing and enlarging the sovereign authority of the parliament over the colony. The discovery of the intolerance contemplated by these persons served to exasperate the intolerance which they themselves were experiencing from the society of which they formed but an insignificant fraction. The contents of their papers excited so much resentment, that not a voice was raised against the iniquity of the process by which the documents had been intercepted ; and the alarm was increased by the manifest impossibility of preventing designs so dangerous from being still pursued. The ardor of the public sentiment, as well as the peculiar nature of the subject that excited it, introduced this all-prevalent topic into the pulpit ; and even John Cotton was so far heated and transported by the contagion of passionate zeal, as to declare, in a sermon, “ that, if any one should carry writings or complaints against the people of God in this country to England, he would, doubtless, find himself in the predicament of Jonah in the vessel.” This was a prediction to which a long voyage was not unlikely to give at least a seeming fulfilment. In effect, a short time after, certain deputies from the petitioners, having embarked for England, were overtaken by a violent storm ; whereupon, the sailors, recollecting the prediction that had gone abroad, and, happily, considering the papers, and not the bearers of them, as the offending part of the shipment, insisted so vehemently on casting all obnoxious writings overboard, that the deputies were obliged to commit their credentials to the waves. Yet, when they arrived in England, they did not fail to prosecute their mission ; but the attention of the parliamentary leaders at that time being deeply engaged with more important matters, and Winslow and Hugh Peters, on behalf of the colony, actively laboring to traverse the designs of the applicants, they obtained little attention and no redress.¹

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

From the painful survey of intolerance and contentious zeal for the forms of religion, it is pleasing to turn to the substantial fruits of Christian sentiment displayed in those memorable exertions for the conversion of the Indians, that originated in the same year that witnessed so much dispute and animosity. [1646.] The circumstances that promoted the emigrations to New England had operated with especial force on the ministers of the Puritans ; and so many of these spiritual directors had accompanied the other settlers, that, among a people who derived less enjoyment from the exercises of piety, the numbers of the clergy would have been reckoned exceedingly burdensome, and very much disproportioned to the wants of the laity. This circumstance was highly favorable to the promotion of religious habits among the colonists, as well as to the extension of their settlements, in the plantation of which the coöperation of a minister was accounted indispensable. It contributed also to suggest and facilitate missionary labor among the neighbouring heathens, to whom the colonists had associated themselves by superadding the ties of a common country to those of a common nature. While the people at large were progressively extending their industry, and subduing by culture the rudeness of desert nature, the ministers of religion with earnest zeal aspired to an extension of *their* peculiar sphere of usefulness ; and at a very early period entertained designs of redeeming to the dominion of piety and civility the neglected wastes of human life and character that lay stretched in savage ignorance and idolatry around them. John Eliot, one of the ministers of Roxbury, a man whose large soul glowed with the intensest flame of holy charity, was deeply penetrated with a sense of this duty, and for some time had been laboriously qualifying himself to overcome the preliminary difficulty by which its performance was obstructed. He had now by diligent study attained such acquaintance with the Indian language as enabled him not only to speak it with fluency, but to facilitate the acquisition of it to others, by the construction and publication of a system of *Indian Grammar*. Having completed his preparatory inquiries, he began, in the close of this year [October, 1646], a scene of pious labor which has been traced with great interest and accuracy by the

ecclesiastical historians of New England, and still more minutely, we may believe, in that eternal record where alone the actions of men obtain their just, their final, and everlasting proportions. It is a remarkable feature in his long and arduous career, that the spirit and energy by which he was supported never incurred the slightest abatement, but, on the contrary, manifested a steady and continual increase. He confidently relied on its unfailing endurance ; and always referring it to divine infusion, felt assured of its derivation from a fountain incapable of being wasted by the most liberal communication. Every thing he saw or knew occurred to him in a religious aspect ; every faculty, and every acquisition that he derived from the employment of his faculties, was received by him as a ray imparted to his soul from that supreme source of sentiment and intelligence which was the object of his earnest contemplation and continual desire. As he was one of the holiest, so was he also one of the happiest and most beloved of men. When he felt himself disabled from preaching by the infirmities of old age, he proposed to his parishioners of Roxbury to resign his ministerial salary ; but these good people unanimously declared that they would willingly pay the stipend, for the advantage and honor of having him reside among them. His example, indeed, was the most valuable part of his ministry among Christians ; his life, during many years, being a continual and manifest effusion of soul in devotion to God and charity to mankind.

The mild, persuasive address of Eliot soon gained him a favorable audience from many of the Indians ;¹ and having successfully represented to them the expediency of an entire departure from their savage habits of life, he obtained from the General Court a suitable tract of land adjoining to the settlement of Concord, in Massachusetts, where a number of Indian families began, under his counsel, to erect fixed habitations for themselves, and where they eagerly received his instructions, both spiritual and secular. It was not long before a violent opposition to these innovations was excited by the powwows, or Indian priests, who threatened death, and other inflictions of the

¹ See Note VII., at the end of the volume.

vengeance of their idols, on all who should embrace Christianity. The menaces and artifices of these persons caused several of the seeming proselytes to draw back, but induced others to separate themselves entirely from the society and converse of the main body of their countrymen, and court the advantage of a closer association with that superior race of men who showed themselves so generously willing to diffuse and communicate the capacity and benefits of their own improved condition. A considerable number of Indians resorted to the land allotted to them by the provincial government, and exchanged their wild and barbarous habits for the modes of civilized life and industry. Eliot was continually among them, instructing, animating, and directing them. They felt his superior wisdom, and saw him continually and serenely happy; and there was nothing in his exterior condition that indicated sources of enjoyment from which they were necessarily debarred. On the contrary, it was obvious, that of every article of merely selfish comfort he was willing to divest himself, in order to communicate to them a share of what he esteemed the only true riches of an immortal being. The women in the new settlement learned to spin; the men to dig and till the ground; and the children were instructed in the English language, and taught to read and write, or, as the Indians expressed themselves, to *get news from paper, and mark their thoughts on it.*

As the numbers of domesticated Indians increased, they built a town by the side of Charles River, which they called *Natick*; and they desired Eliot to frame a system of municipal government for them. He directed their attention to the counsel that Jethro gave to Moses; and, in conformity with it, they elected for themselves rulers of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. The provincial government also established a tribunal, which, without assuming jurisdiction over them, tendered the assistance of its judicial mediation to all who might be willing to refer to it the adjustment of their more difficult or important controversies. In endeavouring to extend their missionary influence among the surrounding tribes, Eliot and the associates of his labors (men like-minded with himself) encountered a variety of success, corresponding to the visible varieties of human character, and the invisible predeterminations

of the divine will. Many persons expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt of Christianity ; some made a hollow profession of willingness to learn, and even of conviction, — with the view, as it afterwards proved, of obtaining the tools and other articles of value that were furnished to every Indian who proposed to embrace the habits of civilized life. In spite of great discouragement, the missionaries persisted ; and the difficulties that at first mocked their efforts seeming at length to vanish under an influence at once mysterious and irresistible, their labors were crowned with astonishing success. The character and habits of the lay colonists promoted the efficacy of these pious exertions, in a manner which will be forcibly appreciated by all who have examined the history and progress of missions. Simple in their manners, devout, moral, and industrious in their conduct and demeanour, they enforced the lessons of the missionaries by demonstrating their practicability and beneficial effects, and exhibited a model of life, which, in point of refinement, was not too elevated for Indian imitation.

While Eliot and an increasing company of associates were thus employed in the province of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew, a man who combined the gentlest manners with the most ardent and enthusiastic spirit, together with a few coadjutors, diligently prosecuted the same design in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Islands, and the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent. Abasing themselves that they might elevate their species and promote the divine glory, and counting their work their wages, they labored with their own hands among those Indians whom they persuaded to forsake savage habits ; and zealously employing all the influence they acquired to the communication of moral and spiritual improvement, they beheld their exertions rewarded by the happiest results. The character and manners of Mayhew were singularly calculated to excite the tenderness, no less than the veneration, of the objects of his benevolence. His address derived a penetrating interest from that earnest concern and high and holy value which he manifestly entertained for every member of the family of mankind. Many years after his death, the Indians could not hear his name mentioned without shedding

tears and betraying transports of grateful emotion. Both Eliot and Mayhew found great advantage in the practice of selecting the most docile and ingenious of their Indian pupils, and by especial attention to their instruction, qualifying them to act as schoolmasters among their countrymen. To a zeal that seemed to increase by exercise they added insurmountable patience and admirable prudence; and steadily fixing their view on the glory of the Most High, and declaring, that, whether outwardly successful or not in promoting it, they felt themselves blessed and happy in pursuing it, — they found its influence sufficient to light them through the darkness of every perplexity and peril, and finally conduct them to a degree of success and victory unparalleled, perhaps, since that era when the miraculous endowments of the apostolic ministry caused multitudes to be converted in a day. They were not hasty in urging the Indians to embrace improved institutions; they desired rather to lead them insensibly forward, — more especially in the establishment of religious ordinances. Those practices, indeed, which they accounted likely to commend themselves by their obviously beneficial effects to the natural understanding of men, they were not restrained from recommending to their early adoption; and trial by jury very soon superseded the savage modes of determining right or ascertaining guilt, and contributed to improve and refine the sense of equity. In the dress and mode of cohabitation of the savages they also introduced, at an early period, alterations calculated to form and develop a sentiment of modesty, of which the Indians were found to be grossly and universally deficient. But all those practices which are, or ought to be, exclusively the fruits of renewed nature and divine light, they desired to teach entirely by example, and by diligently radicating and cultivating in the minds of their flocks the principles out of which alone such visible fruits of piety can lastingly and beneficially grow. It was not till the year 1660, that the first Indian church was founded by Eliot and his fellow-laborers in Massachusetts. There were at that time no fewer than ten settlements within the province, occupied by Indians comparatively civilized.

Eliot had occasionally translated and printed various approved theological dissertations for the use of the Indians;

and at length, in the year 1664, the Bible was printed, for the first time, in one of the native languages of the New World, at Cambridge, in Massachusetts.¹ This, indeed, was not accomplished without the assistance of pecuniary contributions from the mother country. The colonists had zealously and cheerfully coöperated with their ministers, and assisted to defray the cost of their charitable enterprises ; but the increasing expenses threatened at last to exceed what their narrow means were competent to afford. Happily, the tidings of this great work excited a kindred spirit in the parent state, where, in the year 1649, there was formed, by act of parliament, a *Society for propagating the Gospel in New England*, whose coöperation proved of essential service to the missionary cause. This society, dissolved at the Restoration, was afterwards reëstablished by a charter from Charles the Second, obtained by the exertions of the pious Richard Baxter and the influence of the illustrious Robert Boyle, who thus approved himself the benefactor of New England as well as of Virginia. Supported by its ample endowments, and the liberal contributions of their own fellow-colonists, the American missionaries exerted themselves with such energy and success in the work of converting and civilizing the savages, that, before the close of the seventeenth century, there were collected in the province of Massachusetts more than thirty congregations of Indians, comprising upwards of three thousand persons, reclaimed from a gross barbarism and degrading superstition, and advanced to the comfort and respectability of civilized life, and the dignity and happiness of worshippers of the true God. There were nearly as many converts to religion and civility in the islands of Massachusetts Bay ; there were several Indian congregations in the Plymouth territories ; and among some of the tribes that still pursued their wonted style of roving life there was introduced a considerable improvement in civil and moral habits. Several Indians received education at Harvard College ; from which,

¹ I have seen a copy of this edition of the Bible in the library of the late George Chalmers. It is a beautiful piece of typography.

Many earlier publications had already issued from the fertile press of New England. One of the first was a new metrical translation of the Psalms, — very literal and very inelegant. To this last imputation the New Englanders answered, “that God’s altars need not our polishings.” — Oldmixon.

in the year 1665, one of their number obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Among the various difficulties that obstructed the improvements which the missionaries attempted to introduce into the temporal condition of the Indians, it was found that the human constitution had been greatly deteriorated by ages of savage life. Unacquainted with moderation, and accustomed to vibrate between intense toil and sluggish supineness, the Indians at once relished indolence and loathed the even tenor of tranquil exertion. Habits of alternate sloth and activity, indulged from generation to generation, seemed to have gradually imparted a character or bias to their animal faculties, scarcely less fixed and inveterate than the depraved hue of the negro body, and to have deeply impaired the capacity of continuous application. In every employment that demanded steady labor, the Indians were found unequal to the Europeans. The first missionaries and their immediate successors sustained this discouragement without shrinking, and animated their converts to resist or endure it. But at a later period, when it appeared that the taint which the Indian constitution had received continued to be propagated among descendants educated in habits widely different from those of their forefathers, many persons began too hastily to apprehend that the imperfection was incurable; and missionary ardor was abated by the very circumstance that most strongly solicited its revival and enlargement. In concurrence with this cause of decline, the ardent gratitude awakened in the first converts was chilled in its transmission to succeeding generations; and the consequence unhappily was, that a considerable abatement ensued of the piety, morality, and industry of the Indian communities that had been reclaimed from savage life. The members of these communities were depressed by many mortifying circumstances incident to their condition, being exposed to the aversion and contempt of the mass of their race, from which they were socially cut off, though still visibly allied to it by their color; while from the same color and other qualities, even when kindly treated, they were regarded with little respect by the generality of the white colonists, who considered them rather as children and inferiors than as men and equals. Yet the mission-

any work was never entirely abandoned, nor its visible fruits suffered wholly to disappear. Amidst occasional decline and revival, the New England missions have been always pursued ; and converts to piety and civility have continued to attest their beneficial efficacy upon the Indian race.¹

Having already transgressed considerably the march of time, in order to exhibit a brief but unbroken view of the foregoing scene of missionary labor, we now return to follow more leisurely the general stream of affairs in New England.

Shortly after the dissensions which we have remarked in the year 1646, the General Court of Massachusetts recommended the convocation of a synod of the churches of New England, in order to frame a uniform scheme of church discipline for all the provincial congregations. The proposal was resisted by several of the churches, which expressed apprehension of the arbitrary purposes and superstitious devices which might be promoted by the dangerous practice of convoking synods. But at length, the persuasion generally prevailing that an assembly of this description possessed no positive authority, and that its functions were confined to the tendering of counsel, the second synod of New England was convoked at Cambridge. [1648.] The confession of faith that had recently been published by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster was thoroughly examined and unanimously approved. Three of the most eminent of the provincial ministers, Cotton, Partridge, and Mather, were then appointed to prepare a model of discipline for the New England churches. The *Platform of Church Discipline*, which they composed accordingly, and presented to the synod, after many long debates, received general approbation and almost universal acquiescence.²

A dispute had for some time prevailed between Massachu-

¹ *Day-breaking of the Gospel in New England*. Shepherd's *Clear Sunshine of the Gospel upon the Indians*. Eliot's and Mayhew's *Letters*. Mayhew's *Indian Converts*. Whitfield's *Discovery of the present State of the Indians*. Of these, and of various other works on the same subject, copies exist, partly in the Redcross-street Library of London, and partly in the Advocate's Library of Edinburgh. Baxter's *Life*. Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Peirce's *History of Harvard University*. The Indian tribes within the Connecticut territory proved remarkably indocile. Some individuals were converted ; but no Indian church was ever gathered in this State. Trumbull.

² Neal.

setts and Connecticut respecting a commercial tax imposed by the legislature of Connecticut, and which operated with very questionable equity and most unquestionable disadvantage on the inhabitants of Massachusetts. [1649.] Having complained to the commissioners of the confederated provinces, and not obtaining redress as speedily as they deemed themselves entitled to expect, the legislative authorities of Massachusetts issued an ordinance imposing a retaliatory duty not only on goods imported from Connecticut, but on importations from all the other States of the confederation. This unjust proceeding could be defended only by superior strength; an advantage which so manifestly resided with Massachusetts, that the other confederates had nothing to oppose to it but an appeal to those principles of equity which one of their own number had already set the example of disregarding. Happily for them, and for herself, their ally, though liable to be betrayed into error by resentment and partiality, was not intoxicated with conscious power. They presented a remonstrance to the General Court of Massachusetts, desiring it "seriously to consider whether such proceedings agree with the law of love, and the tenor of the articles of confederation." On receiving this remonstrance, the government of Massachusetts, superior to the mean shame of acknowledging a fault, consented to suspend the obnoxious ordinance.¹ [1650.]

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Another dispute, which occurred about three years after, between Massachusetts and the other confederated States, is related with great minuteness, and I think with no small injustice and partiality, by the respectable historian of Connecticut. In 1653, a discovery was supposed to have been made of a conspiracy between Stuyvesant, the governor of the Dutch colony afterwards called New York, and the Indians, for the extermination of the English. The evidence of this sanguinary project (which Stuyvesant indignantly disclaimed) was judged sufficient, and the resolution of a general war embraced by all the commissioners of the union except those of Massachusetts. The General Court of this province reckoned the proof inconclusive, and were fortified in this opinion by the judgment of their clergy, which they consented to abide by. To all the remonstrances of their allies they answered, that no articles of confederation should induce them to undertake an offensive war which they considered unjust, and in which they could not expect the advantage of divine favor. The historian of Connecticut, not content with reprobating this infringement of the articles of union, indignantly censures the scruples of Massachusetts as insincere. Trumbull. But, in truth, the evidence of the Dutch plot labored under very serious defects, which were much more coolly weighed by the people of Massachusetts than by the inhabitants of Connecticut and New Haven, exasperated by frequent disputes with the Dutch, and exposed by their local situation to the greatest danger from Dutch hostilities. In the beginning of the

But Massachusetts, in the following year [1651], was engaged in controversy with a power more formidable to her than she was to her confederates, and much less accessible to sentiments of moderation and forbearance. The Long Parliament, having now established its authority in England, was determined to exact an explicit recognition of it from all the foreign dependencies of the state, and even to introduce such recognition into the charters and official style and procedure of subordinate communities. A mandate was accordingly transmitted to the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, requiring them to send their charter to London; to accept a new patent from the keepers of the liberties of England; and to express in all public writs and judicial proceedings the dependence of the provincial authorities on those existing depositaries of supreme power in the parent state. This command excited the utmost alarm in the colony; nor could all the attachment of the people to the cause of the parliament¹ reconcile them to a surrender of the title under which their settlements and institutions had been formed, and which had never obstructed their obedience to the authorities that now proposed to revoke it. The parliament, indeed, had no more *right* to supersede the original patent of the colony, than to require the city of London, or any of the other corporations of England, to submit their charters to similar dissolution and renovation. But the colonists were aware that the authorities which issued this arbitrary mandate had the *power* to give it practical effect; and, accordingly, declining a direct collision with superior force, they reverted to the same policy which they had once before successfully employed to counteract the tyrannical designs of the late king; and now succeeded in completely foiling

following century, the situation of the provinces was so far reversed, that Massachusetts was compelled to solicit the aid of Connecticut in a war with the Indians; and, on this occasion, Connecticut, remote from the scene of action, at first refused her aid, upon scruples (which she afterwards ascertained to be groundless) respecting the justice of the cause to which her support was desired. — Trumbull.

¹ Though attached to the cause of the parliament, the people of New England had so far forgotten their own wrongs, and escaped the contagion of the passions engendered in the civil war, that the tragical fate of the king appears to have excited general grief and concern. The public expression of such sentiments would have been equally inexpedient and unavailing; but that they were entertained is certain. — See Hutchinson.

the leaders of that parliamentary assembly, so renowned for its success, resolution, and capacity. The General Court, instead of surrendering the provincial patent, transmitted a petition to the parliament against the obnoxious mandate, setting forth, that "these things not being done in the late king's time or since, it was not able to discern the need of such an injunction." It represented the authority and understanding on which the colonists originally repaired to New England, their steadfast adherence to the cause of the parliament throughout the civil wars, and their present explicit recognition of its supremacy; and prayed that the people might not now be worse dealt with than in the time of the king, and, instead of a governor and magistrates annually chosen by themselves, be required to submit to others imposed on them against their will.

The General Court at the same time addressed a letter to "the Lord General Cromwell," for the purpose of interesting his powerful mediation in their behalf, as well as of dissuading him from the prosecution of certain measures which he himself had projected for their advantage. The peculiar character which the New England colonists displayed, the institutions they established, and their predilection for the independent model of church government which he himself approved, recommended them warmly to the esteem of this extraordinary man; and his favorable regards were enhanced by the recollection of the project which he had conceived, and so nearly accomplished, of uniting his destiny with theirs in America. Nor were they at all abated by the compassion and benevolence with which the colonists received a considerable body of unfortunate Scots whom Cromwell banished to Massachusetts after the battle of Dunbar, and of which he was apprized by a letter from John Cotton. He seemed to consider that he had been detained in England for their interests as well as his own; and never ceased to desire that they should be more nearly associated with his fortunes, and more warmly cheered with the rays of his grandeur. He was touched with a generous ambition to be the author of an enterprise so illustrious as the revocation of these men to their native country; and as an act of honorable justice to them, as well as for the advantage

of Ireland, he had recently broached the proposal of transporting them from America, and establishing them in a district of that island, which was to be evacuated for their reception. In their letter to him, the General Court, alluding to this scheme, acknowledged, with grateful expressions, the kind consideration which it indicated ; but declined to comply with it, or abandon a land where they had experienced so much of the favor of God, and were blessed with a fair prospect of converting the neighbouring heathens. They recommended, at the same time, their petition against the parliamentary measures to his friendly countenance, and besought "his Excellence to be pleased to show whatsoever God shall direct him unto, on the behalf of the colony, to the most honorable parliament." It is probable that Cromwell's mediation was successfully employed, as the requisition that had been addressed to the General Court was not urged any farther.¹

The successes of the Long Parliament produced or promoted in its leading members a domineering spirit, to the exercise of which the colonies were peculiarly exposed. [1652.²] In the history of Virginia, we have remarked the laws by which the traffic of all the colonies with foreign states was prohibited, and the martial counsel and conduct by which the subjugation

¹ Hutchinson. *Hutchinson's Collection of Papers*. Chalmers. The commissioners who were sent to New England by Charles the Second asserted, in their narrative, that the colonists of Massachusetts solicited Cromwell to declare it an independent state. *Hutchinson's Collection of Papers*. This is a very improbable statement, and was suggested, perhaps, by misrepresentation or misapprehension of the circumstances related in the text. The publication of Governor Winthrop's *Journal* has now clearly proved that the leading men in Massachusetts entertained from the beginning a considerable jealousy of parliamentary jurisdiction. "In 1641," says Winthrop, "some of our friends in England wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the parliament, — giving us hopes that we might obtain much ; but, consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, — that, if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us ; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us." Hence it is obvious, that the people of New England, in acknowledging the supremacy of parliament, had respect to it, not as a legislative body, but as administering the functions of supreme executive power. They never willingly admitted that the mother country possessed a legislative control over them ; or that, in forsaking her shores, they left behind them an authority capable of obstructing or defeating the objects of their migration.

² This year, Massachusetts lost its eminent preacher and patriarch, John Cotton. Finding himself dying, he sent for the magistrates and ministers of the colony, and, with much solemnity and tenderness, bade them farewell for a while.

of that refractory settlement was decreed and accomplished. The province of Massachusetts, which was desirous, as far as possible, to act in harmonious concurrence with the parliament, and was perfectly sincere in recognizing its supremacy, coöperated with the ordinance against Virginia, by prohibiting all intercourse with this colony till it was reduced by the parliamentary forces. But it was not over those settlements alone which opposed its supremacy that the parliament was disposed to indulge the spirit of domination ; and though Massachusetts was protected from its undesirable handling by the interference of Cromwell, Maryland, which had received its establishment from Charles the First, was compelled to admit the alterations of its official style which Massachusetts evaded ; and Rhode Island beheld the very form of government which it derived from the parliament itself, in 1643, suspended by a warrant of the council of state. What might have ensued upon this warrant, and what similar or ulterior proceedings might have been adopted by the parliament relative to the other colonies, were intercepted by its own dissolution, and the convergence of the whole authority of the English commonwealth in the powerful hands of Oliver Cromwell.¹ [1653.]

The ascendancy of this great usurper (the perfidious servant, yet magnanimous master, of his country) proved highly beneficial to all the American colonies, except Maryland, where, unfortunately, it was rendered instrumental to much injustice, discord, and confusion. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation to the protectorate, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended ; and, by the decisive vigor of his interference, the people of Connecticut and New Haven were relieved from the apprehensions they had long entertained of the hostile designs of the Dutch colonists of New York. All the New England States were thenceforward exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade with foreign nations ; and both their commerce and their security were promoted by the conquest, which the protector's arms achieved, of the province of Acadia from the French. But it was Massachusetts that occupied the

¹ Chalmers.

highest place in his esteem ; and to the inhabitants of this settlement he earnestly longed to impart a dignity of civil condition corresponding to the elevation which he believed them to enjoy in the favor of the great Sovereign of the universe. The reasons for which they had declined his offer of a settlement in Ireland, however likely to obtain his acquiescence, were still more calculated to enlarge his regard for a people who were actuated by such generous considerations. When his arms had achieved the conquest of Jamaica, he conceived the project of transplanting the colonists of Massachusetts to that island [1655] ; and, with this view, he represented to them, that, by establishing themselves and their principles in the West Indies, they would carry the sword of the gospel into the very heart of the territories of popery, and that consequently they ought to deem themselves as strongly invited to this ulterior removal, as they had been to their original migration. He endeavoured to incite them to embrace this project by assurances of the countenance and support which he would extend to them, and of the amplest delegation of the powers of government in their new settlement, as well as by descanting on the rich productions of the torrid zone, with which their industry would be rewarded ; and with these considerations he blended an appeal to their conscience, in pressing them to fulfil, in their own favor, the promise of the Almighty *to make his people the head, and not the tail*.¹ He not only urged these views upon the agents and correspondents of the colonists in England, but despatched one of his own confidential officers to Massachusetts to solicit their compliance with his proposal. But the colonists were exceedingly averse to abandon a country where they found themselves happy and in possession of a sphere of increasing usefulness and virtue ; and the proposal was the more unacceptable to them from the unfavorable reports they received of the climate of Jamaica. The General Court, accordingly, returned an address, declining, in the name of their fellow-citizens, to embrace the protector's offer [1656], and withal beseeching his Highness not to impute their refusal to indifference to his service, or an un-

¹ He alluded, I suppose, to Deuteronomy xxviii., 13.

grateful disregard of his concern for their welfare.¹ Thus, happily for themselves, were the colonists, on two several occasions, deterred from acceding to the proposals of Cromwell for the advancement of their welfare and dignity. Had they removed to Ireland, they would have incurred in the sequel a diminution both of happiness and liberty; had they proceeded to Jamaica, they would have been exposed, amidst the prevalence of negro slavery, to circumstances highly unfavorable to piety and virtue. In the mind of Cromwell, a vehement ardor was singularly combined with the most profound and deliberate sagacity; and enthusiastic sentiments were not unfrequently blended with politic considerations, in proportions which it is little likely that he himself was aware of, or that any remote spectator of his actions can accurately adjust. It is obvious, on the one hand, that his propositions to the colonists were connected with the securer establishment of his own dominion in Ireland and the preservation of his conquest in the West Indies. But it is equally certain, on the other hand, that the colonists incurred neither his displeasure, nor even abatement of his cordial regard, by thus refusing to promote schemes on which he was strongly bent. Nay, so powerfully had they captivated his steady heart, that they retained his favor, even while their intolerance discredited the independent principles which he and they united in professing; and none of the complaints against them, with which he was long assailed by the Anabaptists and Quakers, whose conduct and treatment in the colony we are now to consider, could ever deprive the people of the place they had gained in the protector's esteem.

The colonists had been of late years involved occasionally in hostilities with some of the Indian tribes, and in disputes with the Dutch, by whose machinations they suspected that the Indians were prompted to attack them. But these events

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Hazard. A similar answer was returned by New Haven to a similar application from the protector. Trumbull. There were not wanting some wild spirits among the colonists, who relished Cromwell's proposals. The notorious Venner, who headed the insurrection of the *Fifth Monarchy Men* in England after the Restoration, was for some time an inhabitant of Salem, and prevailed with a party of zealots there to unite in a scheme of emigration to the West Indies. But the design was discouraged by the clergy, and intercepted by the magistrates. Oldmixon.

were productive of greater alarm than injury ; and by far the most serious troubles with which the colonists were infested arose from religious dissensions. Of all the instances of persecution that deform the history of New England, the most censurable in its principle, though happily also the least inhuman in the severity to which it mounted, was the treatment inflicted on the Anabaptists by the government of Massachusetts. The first apparition of these sectaries in the province occurred in the year 1651, when, to the great astonishment and concern of the community, seven or eight persons, of whom the leader was one Obadiah Holmes, professed the Baptist tenets, and separated from the congregation to which they had previously belonged, protesting that they could no longer take counsel, or partake divine ordinances, with unbaptized men, as they pronounced all the other inhabitants of the province to be. The peculiar doctrine which thus unexpectedly sprung up was at that time regarded with extreme aversion and jealousy, on account of the horrible enormities wherewith the first professors of it in Germany had associated its repute ;¹ and no sooner did Holmes and his friends establish a Baptist conventicle in Massachusetts, than complaints of their conduct, as a scandalous and intolerable nuisance, came pouring into the General Court from all quarters of the colony.

From the tenor of these complaints, it is manifest that the minds of the colonists were strongly impressed with the recollection of the licentious sentiments and infamous practices by which the wretched Boccold and his insane followers at Munster had sullied and discredited the Baptist tenets ; and that the bare profession of these tenets was calculated to awaken suspicions of the grossest immorality of conduct. Holmes was accused of having dishonored the Almighty, not only by dividing his people and resisting his ordinance, but by the commission of profligate impurities, and the gross indécency with which, it was alleged, the rite distinctive of his sect was administered. It is admitted by the provincial historians, that no

¹ See Robertson's *History of Charles the Fifth*. The primitive Anabaptists have been not unhappily termed the Jacobins of the Reformation. Violence and exaggeration, prejudicial alike to the interests of religion and liberty, are incident to all great awakenings and revolutions of human sentiment and opinion.

sufficient evidence was adduced in support of these latter charges. The Court refused to hearken to the plea of liberty of conscience in behalf of Holmes and his followers, but, in the first instance, exerted its authority no farther against their persons, than to adjudge that they should desist from their unchristian separation; and they were permitted to retire, having first, however, publicly declared that they were determined to pursue the dictates of their conscience, and to obey God rather than man. Some time after, they were apprehended on a Sunday, while attending the ministry of one Clark, a Baptist, from Rhode Island, who had come to propagate his tenets in Massachusetts. The constables who took them into custody carried them to one of the congregational churches, where Clark put on his hat as soon as the clergyman began to pray. Clark, Holmes, and another were sentenced to pay small fines, or to be flogged; and thirty lashes were actually inflicted on Holmes, who resolutely persisted in choosing a punishment that would enable him to evince the constancy with which he could suffer for the rights of conscience and the defence of what he conceived to be truth. A law was at the same time passed, subjecting to banishment from the colony every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, — who should attempt to seduce others from the practice or approbation of infant baptism, — or ostentatiously depart from a church when that rite was administered, — “*or deny the ordinance of the magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war.*”¹

From these last words, it seems that the Baptists (naturally, or at least naturally accounted, inimical to the authority of their oppressors) either held, or were reputed to hold, along with the proper tenets from whence they derived their denomination, principles opposed to the acknowledgment of magisterial power and authority. In addition to this, we are assured by Cotton Mather, that it was the practice of the Baptists, in order to multiply their partisans, and manifest their contempt for the ecclesiastical institutions of the colonists, to admit the fellowship of all persons whom the established churches in New Eng-

¹ Mather. Neal.

land had excommunicated for licentiousness of conduct, and even to appoint such persons administrators of the sacramental rites. Yet, even with these and other extenuating considerations, it is impossible to acquit the government of Massachusetts of having violated in this instance the rights of conscience, and molested men for the fidelity with which they adhered to what they firmly believed to be the will of God, in relation to a matter purely ecclesiastical.¹ The greediness with which every collateral charge against the Baptists was received in the colony, and the passionate impatience with which their claim of toleration was rejected, forcibly indicate the illiberality and delusion by which their persecutors were governed ; and may suggest to the Christian philosopher a train of reflections, no less instructive than interesting, on the self-deceit by which men commonly infer the honesty of their convictions, and the rectitude of their proceedings, from that resentful perturbation which far more truly indicates a latent consciousness of injustice and inconsistency.

It is mortifying to behold such tares spring up in a field already so richly productive of missionary exertion and other fruits of genuine and exalted piety. The severities that were employed proved in the sequel incompetent to restrain the spread of the Baptist tenets ; though for the present the professors of these doctrines appear to have either desisted from holding separate assemblies, or to have retired from Massachusetts. Some of them repaired to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone ; but, instead of espousing their sentiment, he rejected their supplication, and applauded the conduct of the provincial authorities.²

The treatment which the Quakers experienced in Massachusetts was much more severe, but certainly much more

¹ The Baptists who were exiled from Massachusetts were allowed to settle in the colony of Plymouth (Hutchinson), — whence it may be inferred that they did not in reality profess (as they were supposed by the people of Massachusetts to do) principles adverse to civil subordination. This charge against them probably originated in the extravagance of a few of their own number, and the impatience and injustice of their adversaries.

The government of Massachusetts was by no means inquisitorial in its intolerance. Dunster, the first president of Harvard College, was deprived of this office, not for entertaining, but for refusing to desist from teaching, the Baptist tenets which he had embraced. — Peirce.

² Hutchinson.

justly provoked. It is difficult for us, in the calm and rational deportment of the Quakers of the present age, to recognize the successors of those wild enthusiasts who first appeared in the North of England, about the year 1644, and received from the derision of the world the title which they afterwards adopted as their sectarian denomination. In the mind of George Fox, the collector of this sect, and the founder of its system of faith, there existed a singular mixture of Christian sentiment and doctrinal truth with a deep shade of error and delusion. Profoundly pious and contemplative, but constitutionally visionary and hypochondriacal, he at first suspected that the peculiarities of his mental impressions might be derived from some malady which human science or friendly suggestion could remove ; and an old clergyman, to whom he applied for counsel, advised him to attempt a cure of what was spiritual in his disorder by singing psalms, and of what was bodily by smoking tobacco.¹ Fox rejected both parts of the prescription, as unsuitable to his condition, because disagreeable to his taste ; and being now convinced that others were incapable of understanding his case, he took it entirely into his own hands, and resolved to study, cherish, and cultivate the vague, mysterious motions of his spirit, — in short, to follow the impulse of his restless humor as far as it would lead him. Unsuspicious of morbid influence, or of the deceitfulness of his own imagination, he yielded implicit credence to every suggestion of his mind, mistook every impulse for inspiration, and was given up in an amazing degree to delusions, which, by prayer to the Almighty, he might have been enabled to overcome and dispel. Yet the powerful hold which the Scriptures had already taken of his mind, and the strong determination towards solid and genuine piety which his spirit thence derived, prevented him from personally wandering into the same monstrous extravagance which the conduct of many of his associates and disciples too soon disclosed. In his *Journal* (one of the most curious and interesting productions of the human mind), he has faithfully related the influence which his tenets produced on the sentiments and conduct both of himself and his followers. This singular rec-

¹ Fox's *Journal*.

ord displays, in many parts, a wonderful depth of thought and keenness of penetration, together with numberless examples of that delusion by which its author mistook a strong perception of wrong and disorder in human nature and civil society for a supernatural vocation and power to rectify whatever he deemed amiss. He relates with deliberate approbation various instances of contempt of decency and order in his own conduct, and of insane and disgusting outrage in that of his followers ; and though he reprobates the frenzy of some whom he denominates *Ranters*, it is not easy to discriminate between the extravagance which he sanctions and that which he condemns. Amidst much darkness, there glimmers a bright and beautiful ray of religious truth ; many passages of Scripture are illustrated with happy sagacity ; and labors of zeal and piety, of courage and integrity, are recorded, that would do honor to the ministry of an inspired apostle. That his personal character was elevated and excellent in an unusual degree appears from the impression it produced on the minds of all who approached him. Penn and Barclay, in particular, who to the most eminent virtue added talents and accomplishments of the first order, regarded Fox with the warmest love and veneration.¹ He was, perhaps, the only founder of any religious sect or order, in whom no lust of power, no lurking sentiment of selfish or ambitious aspiration, was ever discovered.

It was this man who first embraced and promulgated those tenets which have subsisted ever since as the distinctive principles of Quaker doctrine ; — that the Holy Spirit, instead of operating (as the generality of Christians believe it in all ordinary cases to do) by insensible control of the bent and exercise of our faculties, acts by direct and cognizable impulse on the spirit of man ; that its influence, instead of being obtained in requital or accompaniment of believing prayer to God, is procured by an introversion of the intellectual eye upon the mind where it already resides, and in the stillness and watchful attention of which the hidden spark will blaze into a clear inward light and sensible flame ; and that the Holy Spirit, instead of simply opening the minds of men to understand the Scrip-

¹ See Note VIII., at the end of the volume.

tures and receive their testimony, can and does convey instruction independently of the written word, and communicate knowledge which is not to be found in the pages of holy writ. The Quaker regulations with respect to plainness of speech and apparel, abstinence from music and other amusements, and general simplicity of manners, are too well known and too little pertinent to our purpose, to require that they should here be particularly described. We may, however, with propriety remark, that the precepts injunctive of plainness of apparel received very early a practical interpretation in some respects contradictory of their own intendment. Forbidden to court an arrogant distinction by fineness of apparel, the Quakers soon procured to themselves a distinction, ridiculous indeed, yet of great and mixed importance, by adopting and retaining the plainest garb exemplified by the tasteless fashion of one particular age ; and, instead of the modesty of simple attire, challenged the general gaze by ostentatious adherence to a sectarian *uniform* or *livery*. The doctrinal errors to which we have alluded have never been renounced by the Quakers, though their practical influence has long since abated, and, indeed, had considerably declined before the end of that century in the middle of which they arose. In proportion as they have been cultivated and practically regarded, has been the progress of the sect into pestilent heresy of opinion, wild delusion of fancy, and outrageous extravagance of conduct ; in proportion as they have subsided into mere theoretical speculation, has been the ascendancy which real piety or rational and philosophical principle has obtained over the minds of the Quakers.

Even in the present day, we behold the evil influence of those erroneous doctrines, in the frequently silent meetings of the Quakers, in the license which they give to women to assume the office of teachers in their church, and in the rejection of the sacraments so distinctly instituted and enjoined in Scripture. But when the doctrines of Quakerism were first promulgated, the effects which they produced on many of their votaries far exceeded the influence to which modern history restricts them, or which the experience of a rational and calculating age finds it easy to conceive. In England, at that time, the minds of men were in a state of feverish agitation and ex-

citement, inflamed with the rage of innovation, strongly imbued with religious sentiment, and yet strongly averse to restraint. The bands that so long repressed liberty of speech being suddenly broken, many crude thoughts were eagerly broached, and many fantastic notions that had been vegetating in the unwholesome shade of locked bosoms were abruptly brought to light ; and all these were presented to the souls of men roused and whetted by civil war, kindled by great alarms or by vast and indeterminate designs, and latterly so accustomed to partake or contemplate the most surprising changes, that with them the distinction between speculation and certainty was considerably effaced. The Presbyterians alone, or nearly alone, were generally willing to submit to, as well as to impose, restraint on the lawless license of speculation ; and to them the doctrines of Quakerism, from their earliest announcement, were the objects of unmixed disapprobation and even abhorrence. But to many other persons, this new scheme, opening a wide field of enthusiastic conjecture, and presenting itself without the restrictive accompaniment of a creed, exhibited irresistible attractions, and it rapidly absorbed a great variety of human character and feeling.

Before many years had elapsed, the numbers of the Quakers were enlarged, and their tenets, without being substantially altered, were moulded into a more systematic shape, by such an accession of philosophical votaries, as, in the early ages of the church, Christianity itself derived from the pretended adoption and real adulteration of its doctrines by the disciples of the Alexandrian school of Platonic philosophy. But it was the wildest and most enthusiastic visionaries of the age whom Quakerism counted among its earliest votaries, and to whom it afforded a sanction and stimulus to the boldest excursions of unregulated thought, and a principle that was adduced to consecrate the rankest absurdity of conduct. And, accordingly, these sectarians, who have always professed and inculcated the maxims of inviolable peace, — who, not many years after, were accounted a society of philosophical deists, seeking to pave the way to a scheme of *natural religion*, by allegorizing the distinguishing articles of the Christian faith, — and who are now in general remarkable for a guarded composure of lan-

guage, an elaborate stillness and precision of demeanour, and a peculiar remoteness from every active effort to make proselytes to their distinctive tenets, — were, in the commencement of their sectarian history, the most impetuous zealots and inveterate disputers ; and in their eagerness to proselytize the world, and to launch testimony from the fountain of oracular truth, which they supposed to reside within their own bosoms, against a regular ministry which they called a priesthood of Baal, and against the sacraments which they termed carnal and idolatrous observances, many of them committed the most revolting blasphemy, indecency, and disorderly outrage.¹ The unfavorable impression which these actions created long survived the extinction of the frenzy and folly that produced them.

While, in pursuance of their determination to proselytize the whole world, some of the Quakers travelled to Rome, in order to illuminate the pope, and others to Constantinople, for the purpose of converting the Grand Turk, — a party of them embarked for America and established themselves in Rhode Island, where persons of every religious (Protestant) denomination were permitted to settle in peace, and no one gave heed to the sentiments or practices of his neighbours. From hence they soon made their way into the Plymouth territory, where they succeeded in persuading some of its inhabitants to embrace the doctrine that a sensible experience of inward light and spiritual impression was the meaning and end of Christianity, and the essential characteristic of its votaries, — and to oppose all regulated order, forms, and discipline, whether civil or ecclesiastical, as a vain and judaizing substitution of the *kingdom of the flesh* for the *kingdom of the spirit*. On their first appearance in Massachusetts [July, 1656], where two male and six female Quakers arrived from Rhode Island and Barbadoes, they found that the reproach entailed on their

¹ The frenzy that possessed many of the Quakers had reached its height in the year 1656, the very year in which the Quakers first presented themselves in Massachusetts. See the proceedings in the House of Commons against James Naylor, a Quaker, for blasphemy. Howell's *State Trials*. This unhappy person represented himself as the redeemer of the human race. Some particulars of his frenzy are related in Note VIII., at the end of the volume. He lived to recant his errors, and even write sensibly in defence of the Quakers, who were by this time increasing in respectability, and were yet magnanimous enough to acknowledge as a friend and associate the man who had done such disservice to their cause.

sect by the insane extravagance of some of its members in England had preceded their arrival, and that they were regarded with the utmost terror and dislike by the great bulk of the people. They were instantly arrested by the magistrates, and diligently examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. No such indications having been found, they were sent back to the places whence they came, by the same vessels that had brought them, and prohibited with threats of severe punishment from ever again returning to the colony. A law was passed at the same time, subjecting every ship-master importing Quakers or Quaker writings to a heavy fine; adjudging all Quakers who should intrude into the colony to stripes and labor in the house of correction, and all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment, or exile.

The four associated States adopted this law, and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to coöperate with them in stemming the progress of Quaker opinions; but the assembly of this settlement wisely replied, that they could not punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion; that they were much incommoded by the presence of the Quakers, and the tendency of their doctrines to unsettle the relations of mankind and dissolve the bonds of society; but that they found that the Quakers delighted to encounter persecution, speedily sickened of a patient, uncontradicting audience, and had already begun to loathe Rhode Island as a scene in which their talent of heroic endurance was ingloriously buried.¹ It

¹ Gordon and other writers have represented the letter from Rhode Island to Massachusetts as conveying a dignified rebuke of intolerance, and have quoted a passage to this effect, which they have found somewhere else than in the letter itself. We shall find, in the sequel, that the forbearance exerted by the government of that province towards the Quakers did not last many years.

Roger Williams, who contributed to found the State of Rhode Island, endeavoured, some years after this period, to extirpate the Quaker heresy, by challenging certain of the leaders of the sect, who had come from England on a mission to their brethren, to hold a public disputation with him on their tenets. They eagerly accepted his challenge; and their historians assure us, that the disputation, which lasted for several days, ended "in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man." Gough and Sewell's *History of the Quakers*. It is more probable, that, like other public disputations, it ended as it began. Williams never doubted that it had issued in his own favor, and signalized his triumph by publishing a book bearing the inconsiderate title of *George Fox digged out of his Burrow*; to which Fox promptly replied by a publication entitled, *A New England Firebrand quenched, being an Answer to a lying, slanderous Book by one Roger Williams, confuting his blasphemous Assertions*. Eliot's *New England Biography*.

is much to be lamented that the counsel insinuated in this good-humored reply was not embraced. The penal enactments resorted to by the other settlements served only to inflame the impatience of the Quaker zealots to carry their ministry into places that seemed to them to stand so greatly in need of it; and the persons¹ who had been disappointed in their first attempt returned almost immediately to Massachusetts, and, dispersing themselves through the colony, began to proclaim their mystical notions, and succeeded in communicating them to some of the inhabitants of Salem. They were soon joined by Mary Clarke, the wife of a tailor in London, who announced that she had forsaken her husband and six children in order to convey a message from heaven, which she was commissioned to deliver to New England. Instead of joining with the provincial missionaries in attempts to reclaim the neighbouring savages from their barbarous superstition and profligate immoralities, or themselves prosecuting separate missions with a like intent, the apostles of Quakerism raised their voices in vilification of every thing that was most highly approved and revered in the doctrine and practice of the provincial churches. Seized, imprisoned, and flogged, — they were again dismissed with severer threats from the colony, and again they returned by the first vessels they could procure. The government and a great majority of the colonists were incensed at their stubborn pertinacity, and shocked at the impression which they had already produced on some minds, and which threatened to corrupt and subvert a system of piety, whose establishment, fruition, and perpetuation supplied their fondest recollections, their noblest enjoyment, and most energetic desire. New punishments were introduced into the

¹ Except one of the women, Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople, and had an interview with the Grand Vizier, by whom she was received with courteous respect. Bishop, the Quaker, in his *New England Judged*, observes, that she fared better among heathens than her associates did among professing Christians. He was perhaps not aware that the Turks regard insane persons as inspired. But, whether insane or not, she was not altogether divested of a prudential regard to her own safety; for, "when they asked her what she thought of their prophet Mahomet, she made a cautious reply, that she knew him not." Kelsey, another Quaker, displayed less prudence, and experienced less courtesy from the Turks. He preached in the streets of Constantinople to crowds who understood not one word of his language, and, by the advice of Lord Winchelsea, the English ambassador at the Porte, was punished by the Turkish authorities with the bastinado.

legislative enactments against the intrusion of Quakers and the profession of Quakerism [1657] ; and, in particular, the abscission of an ear was added to the former ineffectual severities. Three male Quaker preachers endured the rigor of this cruel law.

But all the exertions of the provincial authorities proved unavailing, and seemed rather to stimulate the zeal of the obnoxious sectaries to brave the danger and court the glory of persecution. [1658.] Swarms of Quakers descended upon the colony ; and, violent and impetuous in provoking persecution, — calm, resolute, and inflexible in sustaining it, — they opposed their power of enduring cruelty to their adversaries' power of inflicting it ; and not only multiplied their converts, but excited a considerable degree of favor and pity in the minds of men, who, detesting the Quaker tenets, yet derived from their own experience a peculiar sympathy with the virtues of heroic patience, constancy, and contempt of danger. When the Quakers were committed to the house of correction, they refused to work ; when they incurred pecuniary fines, they refused to pay them. In the hope of enforcing compliance with its milder requisitions, the court adjudged two of those contumacious persons to be sold as slaves in the West Indies ; but, as even this dismal prospect could not move their stubborn resolution, the court, instead of executing its inhuman threat, reverted to the unavailing device of banishing them beyond its jurisdiction. It was by no slight provocations that the Quakers attracted these and additional severities upon themselves. Men trembled for the faith and morals of their families and their friends, when they heard the blasphemous denunciations that were uttered against the worship of "*a carnal Christ*," and when they beheld the frantic and indecent outrages that were prompted by the mystical impressions which the Quakers inculcated and professed to be guided by. In public assemblies and in crowded streets, it was the practice of some of the Quakers to denounce the most tremendous manifestations of divine wrath on the people, unless they forsook their carnal system. One of them, named Faubord, conceiving that he experienced a celestial encouragement to rival the faith and imitate the sacrifice of Abraham, was proceeding with his own

hands to shed the blood of his son, when his neighbours, alarmed by the cries of the lad, broke into the house and prevented the consummation of this blasphemous atrocity. Others interrupted divine service in the churches by loudly protesting that *these* were not the sacrifices that God would accept; and one of them illustrated this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces!" They declared that the Scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were *blind beasts and liars* who denied it.

The female preachers far exceeded their male associates in folly, frenzy, and indecency. One of them presented herself to a congregation with her face begrimed with coal-dust, announcing it as a pictorial illustration of *the black pox*, which Heaven had commissioned her to predict as an approaching judgment on all carnal worshippers. Some of them in rueful attire perambulated the streets, proclaiming the speedy arrival of an angel with a drawn sword to plead with the people; and some attempted feats that may seem to verify the legend of Godiva of Coventry. One woman, in particular, entered stark naked into a church in the middle of divine service, and desired the people to take heed to her as a sign of the times, and an emblem of the unclothed state of their own souls; and her associates highly extolled her submission to the inward light, that had revealed to her the duty of illustrating the spiritual nakedness of her neighbours by the indecent exhibition of her own person. Another Quakeress was arrested as she was making a similar display in the streets of Salem. The horror, justly inspired by these insane enormities, was inflamed into the most vehement indignation by the deliberate manner in which they were defended, and the disgusting profanity with which Scripture was linked in impure association with notions and behaviour at once ridiculous and contemptible. Among other singularities, the Quakers exemplified and inculcated the forbearance of even the slightest demonstration of respect to courts and magistrates; they declared that governors, judges, lawyers, and constables were trees that cumbered the ground, and presently must be cut down, in order that the true light

might have leave to shine and space to rule alone ; and they freely indulged every sally of distempered fancy which they could connect, however absurdly, with the language of the Bible. A Quaker woman, who was summoned by the provincial court to answer for some extravagance, being desired to tell where she lived, refused to give any other answer than that she lived in God, "for in him we live, and move, and have our being." Letters replete with coarse and virulent railing were addressed by other members of the sect to the magistrates of Boston and Plymouth. Such was the inauspicious outset of the Quakers in America, — a country, where, a few years after, under the guidance of sounder judgment and wiser sentiment and purpose, they were destined to extend the empire of piety and benevolence, and to found establishments that have been largely productive of happiness and virtue.

It has been asserted by some of the modern apologists of the Quakers, that these frantic excesses, which excited so much indignation and produced such tragical consequences, were committed, not by genuine Quakers, but by the *Ranters*, or wild separatists from the Quaker body. Of these Ranters, indeed, a very large proportion certainly betook themselves to America ; attracted chiefly by the glory of enduring persecution, — but in some instances, perhaps, by the hope of attaining among their brethren in that country a distinction from which they were excluded in England by the established pre-eminence of George Fox.¹ It is certain, however, that the persons whose conduct we have particularized assumed the name of Quakers, and traced all their absurdities to the peculiar Quaker principle of searching their own bosoms for sensi-

¹ One of the most noted of these separatists was John Perrot, who, in order to convert the pope, had made a journey to Italy, where he was confined for some time as a lunatic. This *persecution* greatly endeared him to the Quakers, and exalted him so much in his own esteem, that he began to consider himself more enlightened than George Fox. He prevailed with a considerable party among the Quakers to refrain from shaving their beards, and to reject the practice of uncovering their heads in the act of prayer, as a vain formality. Fox having succeeded, by dint of great exertions, in stemming these innovations, Perrot repaired to America, where he appears to have multiplied his absurdities, and propagated them among the Quakers to an amazing extent. Various missions were undertaken by George Fox and other English Quakers to reclaim their brethren in America from the errors of Perrot, who finally abandoned every pretence to Quakerism, and became a strenuous assertor of all the doctrines and observances against which he had formerly borne testimony. — Gough and Sewell.

ble admonitions of the Holy Spirit, independent of the Scriptural revelation of divine will. And many scandalous outrages were committed by persons whose profession of Quaker principles was recognized by the Quaker body, and whose sufferings are related, and their frenzy applauded, by the pens of Quaker writers.¹

Exasperated by the repetition of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of their radical principle was spreading in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts, in the close of this year [1658], introduced into the assembly a law, denouncing the punishment of death upon all Quakers returning from banishment. This legislative proposition was opposed by a considerable party of the colonists ; and various individuals, who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the heresy of the Quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty and iniquity of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the assembly ; but finally adopted by the narrow majority of a single voice. In the course of the two following years [1659, 1660], this barbarous law was carried into execution on three separate occasions, — when four Quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any of these unfortunate persons were guilty of the outrages which the conduct of their brethren in general had associated with the profession of Quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the Quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning for ever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which, on various occasions, they affirmed, had sounded in their ears, in the fields and in their dwellings, distinctly syllabing their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise.²

¹ See Note IX., at the end of the volume.

² The first Quakers, instead of following the injunction of our Saviour to his apostles, that when persecuted in one city they should flee to another, seem to have found strong attractions in the prospect of persecution. One of those who were put to death in Massachusetts declared, that, as he was holding the plough in Yorkshire, he was directed by a heavenly voice to leave his wife and children, and repair to Barbadoes ; but hearing of the banishment of the Quakers from New England, and of the severe punishments inflicted on persons returning there after banishment, he began to ponder on the proba-

When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour expressed unquenchable zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general a warm and affecting piety.¹

These executions excited much clamor against the government ; many persons were offended by the exhibition of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony ; and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the Quakers, that effaced all recollection of the indignant disgust which the principles of these sectaries had previously inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate Quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. The magistrates at first attempted to combat the censure they had provoked, and published a vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them ; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice attained such general and forcible prevalence, as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another Quaker, named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished with the assurance of capital punishment in case of his return, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates for shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after brought to trial. Summoned to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law the court was authorized to put him on the defence of his life. When the last enactment against the Quakers was cited to him, he asked, who empowered the provincial authorities to make that law, and whether it were not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England. The governor answered, with little regard to sense or propriety, that an existing law in England appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied, that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a Quaker, and that there was no law in England that made

bility of his receiving a spiritual direction to proceed thither, and very soon after received it accordingly. — Tomkins's and Kendall's *Lives, Services, and Dying Sayings of the Quakers*.

The woman who was executed was Mary Dyer, who, twenty years before, had been a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson and a disturber of New England.

¹ There is a striking resemblance between the dying behaviour of these Quaker martyrs and the sublime scene delineated in 2 Maccabees, vi. and vii.

Quakerism a capital offence. The court, nevertheless, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the Quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." The magnanimous demeanour of this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in understanding to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison and all the other Quakers who were in custody were forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning, only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these penal rigors were relaxed in proportion as the demeanour of the Quakers became more quiet and orderly; and in the first year after the restoration of Charles the Second, the infliction of flogging was suspended by a letter from the king to Governor Endicott¹ and the other magistrates of the New England settlements, requiring that no Quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America, but, if charged with offences that were reckoned deserving of such severity, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily, the moderation of the provincial government was more steady and durable than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the Quakers in the course of the following year.

The persecution thus happily closed was not equally severe in all the New England States; the Quakers suffered most in

¹ Endicott was in an especial degree the object of dislike to Charles the Second. Hutchinson relates, that he had seen a letter from the secretary of state, some time after this period, containing an intimation that "the king would take it well, if the people would leave out Mr. Endicott from the place of governor." But the people continued to elect him to this office as long as he lived. He died at the age of seventy-seven, in the year 1665, leaving behind him the character of "a sincere Puritan." — Holmes.

Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and New Haven. It was only in Massachusetts that the inhuman law inflicting capital punishment upon them was ever carried into effect.¹ At a subsequent period, the laws relating to *vagabond Quakers* were so far revived, that Quakers disturbing religious assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of executing these severities; the wild excursions of the Quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the Quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws, except such as related to the militia and the support of the clergy, — in their scruples as to which the provincial legislature, with reciprocal moderation, consented to indulge them.²

During the long period that had now elapsed since the commencement of the civil war in Britain, the New England provinces experienced a steady and vigorous growth, in respect both of the numbers of their inhabitants and the extent of their territorial occupation. The colonists were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the enjoyment of that ecclesiastical estate which was the object of their supreme desire, and of civil and political freedom. They were exempted from the payment of all taxes, except for the support of their internal government, which was conducted with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary

¹ This law, though never executed in Connecticut, was embraced by the assembly of this province, which also adjudged that "No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic." — *Blue Laws of Connecticut*, Art. 13 and 14.

² Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Hazard. Oldmixon. Oldmixon, who entertained no predilection for either of the parties, has pronounced this impartial censure on the treatment which the Quakers experienced from the Puritan magistrates of New England. "If the Quakers ran about the streets, crying out against the sins of the people, there might have been a mad-house set apart for them. If Deborah Wilson marched through Salem stark naked, the hangman might have flogged her with the more advantage. I meet with some signs of frenzy and folly in the rants and riots of the Quakers, but nothing for which they should have been hanged; and these New England magistrates acted like the ignorant surgeon, that knew no way of curing a bad limb but by cutting it off."

My venerated friend, that illustrious Quaker philanthropist, William Allen, of London, in the doctrinal and historical *Summary* prefixed to his edition of Woolman's *Journal*, has related all the sufferings, without making any allusion to the offences, of either the Quakers or the Ranters. He has also erroneously ascribed the first tolerating law in favor of the Quakers to Massachusetts, instead of Connecticut.

privilege of importing commodities into England free from the duties which all other importers were constrained to pay. By the favor of Cromwell, too, the ordinances by which the Long Parliament had restricted their commerce were not enforced; and they continued to trade wherever they pleased. Almost all the peculiar circumstances, which thus combined to promote the prosperity of New England during the suspension of monarchy, contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects awakened by the Restoration. There was the strongest reason to expect an abridgment of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political freedom. Various other circumstances conspired to retard the recognition of the royal authority in New England. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists were successively urged to recognize, first, his son Richard as protector, afterwards, the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its ascendancy, and subsequently, the Committee of Safety, as the legitimate organs of sovereign power in England. But, doubtful of the stability of any of these forms of government, they prudently declined to commit themselves by positive declaration. In the month of July [1660], a vessel, on board of which were Generals Whalley and Goffe, two of the late king's judges, arrived with intelligence of the restoration of Charles the Second; but no authoritative or official communication of this event was received; and England was represented as being in a very unsettled and distracted condition. Massachusetts had no inducement to imitate Virginia in a premature declaration for the king; and while farther intelligence was anxiously expected, Whalley and Goffe were permitted to travel through the province, and accept the friendly civilities which many persons tendered to them, and with which Charles afterwards bitterly reproached the colonists.¹

At length, authentic tidings were obtained that the royal authority was firmly established in England [December, 1660], and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented, by various royalists, Quakers, and other enemies of its policy or institutions, to the privy council and the

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

houses of parliament. The General Court was straightway convened, and an address voted to the king, in which, with considerable ability, and with that conformity which they studied to the language of Scripture, the colonists justified their whole conduct, tendered assurances of a dutiful attachment to their sovereign, and entreated his protection and favor, which they professed to expect the more confidently from one, who, having been himself a fugitive, was no stranger to the lot and the feelings of exiles. Having vindicated their proceedings against the Quakers, by an exposition of the heretical doctrines that were introduced, and of the seditious and indecent excesses that were committed by these sectaries, they expressed their entire readiness and earnest desire to defend themselves against every other charge that already had been, or in future might be, preferred against them. "Let not the king hear men's words," they said; "your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel. We are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismatics as to matters of religion. We distinguish between churches and their impurities; between a living man, though not without sickness and infirmity, and no man. Irregularities either in ourselves or others we desire may be amended. We could not live without the worship of God; we were not permitted the use of public worship, without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence either to God, or man, or our consciences, we, with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos." They assimilated their secession from England to that of "the good old non-conformist Jacob" from Syria; but declared that "the providential exception of us thereby from the late wars and temptations of either party we account as a favor from God." They solicited the king to protect their ecclesiastical and civil institutions, protesting that they considered the chief value of the latter to consist in their subservience to the cultivation and enjoyment of religion.

A similar address was made to parliament; and letters were

written to Lord Manchester, Lord Say and Seal, and other persons of distinction, who were known to be friends of the colony, soliciting their interposition in its behalf. Leverett, the agent for the colony at London, was instructed, at the same time, to use every effort in order to procure a continuance of the exemption from customs which the colonists had hitherto enjoyed. But before he had time to make any such vain attempt, the parliament had already established the duties of tonnage and poundage over every portion of the empire. This disappointment was softened by a gracious answer which was returned by the king to the provincial address, and was accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Whalley and Goffe. [1661.] So prompt a display of good-will and confidence excited general satisfaction; and a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favor of Heaven in moving the heart of the king to incline to the desires of the people. With regard to Whalley and Goffe, the provincial authorities were greatly perplexed between the obligation of a duty which it was impossible to decline, and their reluctance to betray to a horrible fate two men who had lately been members of a government acknowledged and obeyed by the whole British empire, who had fled to New England as an inviolable sanctuary from royal vengeance, and were recommended to the kindness of the colonists by letters from the most eminent ministers of the Independent persuasion in the parent state. It is generally supposed, and is sufficiently probable, that intimation was privately conveyed to the fugitive regicides of the orders that had been received; and, although warrants for their apprehension were issued, and by the industry of the royalists a diligent search for their persons was instituted, they were enabled, by the assistance of their friends, by dexterous evasion from place to place, and by strict seclusion, to end their days in New England.¹

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Small as was the number of royalists in Massachusetts, it was too great to enable the people to afford permanent shelter to Goffe and Whalley. But in New Haven there were no royalists at all; and even those who disapproved of the great action of the regicides regarded it (with more of admiration than abhorrence) as the error of noble and generous minds. Leet, the governor of New Haven, and his council, when summoned by the pursuers of Goffe and Whalley to assist in the apprehension of them, first consumed abundance of time in deliberating

But the apprehensions which the colonists had originally entertained of danger to their civil and ecclesiastical institutions were speedily reawakened by intelligence that reached them from England of the industrious malignity which was exerted in circulating the most unfavorable representations of their conduct, of the countenance that these representations received from the king, and of the vindictive and tyrannical designs against them which general opinion ascribed to the court. It was reported that their commercial intercourse with Virginia and the West India Islands was to be cut off; that three frigates were preparing to sail from England, in order to facilitate the introduction of arbitrary power; and that this armament was to be accompanied by a governor-general, whose jurisdiction was to extend over all the North American plantations. Apprehensions of these and other changes at length prevailed so strongly in Massachusetts, as to produce a public measure of very remarkable character. The General Court, having proclaimed the necessity of promoting unity of spirit and purpose among the colonists for the vindication of their provincial liberties, in consistence with a dutiful recognition of the paramount authority of England, appointed a committee of eight of the most eminent persons in the State to prepare a report, ascertaining the extent of their rights and the limits of their obedience; and shortly after [May, 1661], the Court, in conformity with the report of the committee, framed and published a series of declaratory resolutions expressive of their solemn and deliberate judgment on those important subjects. It was declared that the patent (under God) is the original compact and main foundation of the provincial commonwealth, and of its institutions and policy; that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic empowered to confer the rights of freemen; and that the freemen so constituted have authority to elect annually their governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers;

on the extent of their powers, and then protested, that, in a matter of such importance, they could not act without the orders of an assembly. The royalist pursuers, incensed at this answer, desired the governor to declare at once whether he owned and honored the king; to which he replied, "We do honor his Majesty; but we have tender consciences, and wish first to know whether he will own us." — Trumbull.

that the magistracy, thus composed, hath all requisite power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeal, except against laws repugnant to those of England; that the provincial government is entitled by every means, even by force of arms, to defend itself both by land and sea against all persons attempting injury to the province or its inhabitants; and that any imposition injurious to the provincial community, and contrary to its just laws, would be an infringement of the fundamental rights of the people of New England. This firm and distinct assertion of provincial rights was accompanied with a recognition of the duties to which the people were engaged by their allegiance, and which, it was declaratorily announced, consisted in preserving the colony as a dependency of the English crown, and preventing its subjection to any foreign prince; in defending, to the utmost of their power, the king's person and dominions; and in maintaining the dignity and prosperity of the king and people, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel.¹

These proceedings disclose without disguise or ambiguity the alarming suspicions which the colonists entertained of the character and policy of their new sovereign, and the firm determination with which they clung to the dear-bought rights of which they anticipated an attempt to bereave them. How far they are to be considered as indicating a settled purpose to resist tyrannical aggression by force is a matter of uncertain conjecture. It is not improbable that the authors of them hoped, by strongly proclaiming their rights, and suggesting the extremities which an attempt to violate them would legally warrant and might eventually provoke, to deter the king from awakening, in the commencement of his reign, the recollection of a contest which had proved fatal to his father,—and which, if once rekindled, even to an extent so little formidable as a controversy with an infant colony implied, might soon become

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. During the subsistence of the Commonwealth in England, John Eliot, the missionary, on one occasion, so far overstepped his proper functions as to publish a little treatise against monarchical government. The General Court of Massachusetts now deemed it expedient to cite him before them to answer for this impugnation of regal authority. Eliot acknowledged that he had acted rashly and culpably; and, desiring forgiveness, obtained it.

less unequal, by presenting an occasion of revival and exercise to passions hardly yet extinguished in England. If such were the views of the provincial leaders, the soundness of them was approved by the event. But, in the mean time, the provincial authorities, in order to manifest a dutiful subordination to the parent state, issued injunctions for the pursuit and apprehension of Goffe and Whalley, and publicly announced that no persons obnoxious to the laws of England, and flying from her tribunals, would receive shelter in a colony that acknowledged her supreme authority.

Having now declared the terms on which they recognized the dominion of the English crown, the General Court caused the king to be solemnly proclaimed as their undoubted prince and sovereign lord. They published, at the same time, an ordinance prohibiting all disorderly behaviour on the occasion, and commanding in particular that none should presume to drink his Majesty's health, "which," it was added, "he hath, in an especial manner, forbidden,"—an injunction the most alien to the sentiments and habits of the king, and imputed to him on no better grounds than that drinking of healths was prohibited by the statutes of his colony of Massachusetts. This senseless practice had been offensive, on account of its heathen origin, to the more scrupulous of the Puritan planters, who were desirous in all things to study a literal and exclusive conformity to the revealed will of God,—and, accounting nothing unworthy of human regard that afforded occasion to exercise such conformity, finally prevailed to have the ceremonial of drinking healths interdicted by law. Though many of the colonists entertained little favor or respect for this regulation, yet almost all of them were desirous that the restoration of royal authority should not be signalized by a triumph over any, even the least important, of the provincial constitutions. Intelligence having arrived soon after of the progress of the complaints that were continually exhibited to the privy council against the colony, and an order at the same time being received from the king that deputies should be sent forthwith to England to make answer to those complaints, the Court committed this important duty to Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, and John Norton, one of the ministers of Boston.

[December, 1661.] These agents were instructed to vindicate the loyalty and justify the conduct of the colony ; to discover, if possible, what were the designs which the king meditated, or the apprehensions that he entertained ; and neither to do nor submit to any thing prejudicial to the provincial charter. They undertook their thankless office with great reluctance, and obtained before their departure a public assurance of being indemnified by the General Court for whatever damage they might sustain by detention of their persons or other maltreatment in England.¹

Whether from the vigor and resolution which the recent conduct of the provincial government displayed, or from the moderation of the wise counsellors by whom Charles was then surrounded, promoted by the influence which Lord Say and some other eminent persons employed in behalf of the colony, the agents were received with unexpected favor, and were soon enabled to return to Boston [1662] with a letter from the king, confirming the provincial charter, and promising to renew it under the great seal, whenever this formality should be desired. The royal letter likewise announced an amnesty for whatever treasons had been committed during the late troubles, to all persons but those who were attainted by act of parliament, and who had fled, or might hereafter fly, to New England. But it contained other matters by no means acceptable to the colonists. It required that the General Court should pronounce all the ordinances that had been enacted during the abeyance of royalty invalid, and forthwith revise them and repeal every one that might seem repugnant to the royal authority ; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered to every person ; that justice should be distributed in the king's name ; that all who desired it should be permitted to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, and to perform their devotions according to the ceremonial of the church of England ; that, in the choice of the governor and assistants, or counsellors, of the colony, the only qualifications to be regarded should be wisdom and integrity, without any reference to peculiarities of religious faith ; and that all freeholders of competent estates,

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

and not immoral in their lives, should be admitted to vote in the election of officers, civil and military, whatever might be their opinions with respect to forms of church-government. "We cannot be understood," it was added, "hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, with the advice of our parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you do the like there."¹

However reasonable some of the foregoing requisitions may now appear, the greater number of them were highly disagreeable to the persons to whom they were addressed. The colonists considered themselves entitled to maintain the form of polity in church and state, which they had fled to a desert in order to cultivate, without the intrusion and commixture of different principles; and they regarded with the utmost jealousy the precedent of an interference with their fundamental constitutions by a prince, who, they were firmly persuaded, was aiming at present to enfeeble the system which he waited only a more convenient season to destroy. To comply with the royal injunctions, they apprehended, would be to introduce among their children the spectacles and corruptions which they had incurred the mightiest sacrifices in order to withdraw from their eyes; and to throw open every office in the state to Roman Catholics, Socinians, and every heretic and unbeliever who might think power worth the purchase of a general declaration that he was (according to his own unexamined interpretation of the term) a Christian. The king, never deserving, was never able to obtain credit with his subjects for good faith or moderation; he was from the beginning of his reign suspected of a predilection for the church of Rome; and the various efforts which he made to procure a relaxation of the penal laws against the Protestant dissenters in England were jealously and censoriously regarded by all these dissenters themselves, — with the solitary exception of the Quakers, who considered

¹ Hutchinson. Belknap. The royal invitation to persecute the Quakers was disregarded by the government of Massachusetts. Whether from greater deference to the king's pleasure or from some other cause, the government of Rhode Island, in the year 1665, passed an act of outlawry against the Quakers for refusing to bear arms. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

the other Protestants and the Catholics as nearly on a level with each other, and were made completely the dupes of the artifices by which Charles and his successor endeavoured to introduce the ascendancy of the Catholic church under the preliminary guise of universal toleration.

Of all the requisitions in the royal letter, the only one that was complied with was that which directed that judicial proceedings should be conducted in the king's name. The letter commanded that its contents should be published in the colony ; which was accordingly done, — with an intimation, however, that the directions relative to political and ecclesiastical matters were reserved for the deliberate consideration which would be requisite to adjust them to the existing constitutions. The treatment which the provincial agents experienced from their countrymen, it is painful, but necessary, to relate. The ill-humor which some of the requisitions provoked was unjustly extended to these men ; and their merits, though at first gratefully acknowledged, were speedily forgotten. Impressed with the danger from which the colony had obtained a present deliverance, but which still impended over it from the designs of a prince who visibly abetted every complaint of its enemies, the agents increased their unpopularity by warmly urging that all the requisitions should be instantly and literally obeyed. Norton, who, on the first inofficial intelligence that was received of the king's restoration, had ineffectually counselled his fellow-citizens to proclaim the royal authority, — in now again pressing upon them a measure to which they were still more averse, went the length of declaring to the General Court, that, if they complied not with the terms of the king's letter, they must blame themselves for the bloodshed that would ensue. Such language was ill calculated to soothe the popular disquiet, or recommend an ungracious counsel ; and the deputies, who were actuated by the most disinterested zeal to serve rather than flatter their fellow-citizens, now found themselves opprobriously identified with the grievances of the colony, and heard the evils, which it was not in their power to prevent, ascribed to their neglect or unguarded concession. Bradstreet, endowed with a robust, philosophical temper, was the less moved by this ingratitude, and entertained his evil fortune without surprise

or repining ; but Norton, who was a man of keen and delicate sensibility, could not behold the altered eyes of his countrymen without the most stinging sensations of grief and mortification. When he heard many say of him, that "*he had laid the foundation for the ruin of his country's liberty*," he expressed no resentment, but sunk into a profound and consuming melancholy. Vainly struggling with his anguish, and endeavouring to embrace his lot with patience and do his duty to the last, he died soon after of a broken heart. His death was regarded by the people as a public misfortune, and felt as a poignant reproach ; and the universal mourning that overspread the province expressed a late but lasting remembrance of his virtue, and bewailed an ungrateful error which only repentance was now permitted to repair.¹

The colony of Rhode Island received the tidings of the restoration of royalty with much real or apparent satisfaction. It was hoped by the inhabitants that the suspension of their charter by the Long Parliament would more than compensate the demerit of having accepted a charter from such authority ; and that their exclusion from the confederacy, of which Massachusetts was the head, would operate as an additional recommendation to royal favor. The restored monarchical government was proclaimed with eager haste in this colony ; and Dr. John Clarke was employed as deputy from the colonists to carry their dutiful respects to the foot of the throne, and to solicit a new charter in their favor. The envoy conducted his negotiation with a suppleness of adroit servility that rendered the success of it dearly bought. He not only vaunted in courtly strains the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, of which not the slightest proof could be adduced, but, meeting this year the deputies of Massachusetts at court, he publicly challenged them to cite any one demonstration of duty or loyalty by their constituents to the present king or his father, from the period of their first establishment in New England.²

¹ Mather. Hutchinson. See Note X., at the end of the volume.

² Mr. Bancroft has, with strange lack of courtesy and correctness, reproached me with having *invented* the charge I have preferred against Clarke. I am incapable of such dishonesty ; and sincerely hope that Mr. Bancroft's reproach is, and will continue, on his part, a solitary instance of deviation from candor and rectitude.

With a mixture of pain and admiration, I have witnessed the displeasure

Yet the inhabitants of Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament in the commencement of its struggle with Charles the First ; while Massachusetts declined to make a similar recognition, even when the Parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success.¹ Clarke succeeded in obtaining, this year [1662],² a charter which assured to the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence the amplest enjoyment of religious liberty and most unlimited concession of municipal jurisdiction. Certain of the leading colonists, together with all other persons who should in future be admitted freemen of the society, were incorporated by the title of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The supreme or legislative power was vested in an assembly, consisting of the governor, assistants, and representatives elected from their own number by the freemen. This assembly was empowered to enact legal ordinances, and establish forms of government and magistracy, with as much conformity to the laws and institutions of England as the state of the country and condition of the people would admit ; to erect courts of justice ; to regulate the manner of appointment to places of trust ; to inflict all lawful punishments ; and to exercise the prerogative of pardon. A governor, deputy-governor, and ten assistants were to be annually chosen by the assembly ; and the first board of these officers, nominated by the charter, on the suggestion of the provincial agent, were authorized to commence the work of carrying its provisions into execution. The governor and company were empowered to transport all merchandise not prohibited by the statutes of the kingdom, on payment of the usual duties ; to exercise martial law, when necessary ; and, upon just causes, to invade

with which some of the *literati* of Rhode Island have received my strictures on Clarke. The authorities they have cited prove undeniably that he was a true patriot and excellent man, and well deserving the reverence of his natural and national posterity. But every person acquainted with history and human nature ought to know how apt even good men are to be transported beyond the line of honor and integrity, in conducting such negotiations as that which was confided to Clarke.

¹ The Rhode-Islanders had also presented an address to the rulers of England in 1659, beseeching favor to themselves, as "a poor colony, an outcast people, formerly from our mother nation in the bishops' days, and since from the New-English over-zealous colonies." — Douglass's *Summary*.

² Although the charter was framed in 1662, yet, in consequence of a dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island, it was not completed till July, 1663.

and destroy the native Indians or other enemies. The territory granted to the governor and company and their successors was described as that part of the dominions of the British crown in New England, which embraced the islands in Narraganset Bay and the countries and districts adjacent, — which were appointed to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich in common soccage. The inhabitants and their children were declared to be entitled to the same immunities which would have accrued to them, if they had resided or been born within the realm. This is the first instance of the creation, by a British patent, of an authority of that peculiar description which was then established in Rhode Island. Corporations had been formerly constituted within the realm, for the government of colonial plantations ; but now a body politic was created with specific powers for administering all the affairs of a colony within the colonial territory itself. The charter was received with great satisfaction by the colonists, who entered immediately into possession of the democratical constitution which it appointed for them, and continued to pursue the same system of civil and ecclesiastical policy that they had heretofore observed.¹

Though the inhabitants of Connecticut neither felt nor affected the same joy that Rhode Island expressed at the restoration of the king, they did not fail to send a deputy to England to express their recognition of the royal authority and to solicit a new charter.² They were fortunate in the choice of the man to whom they committed this important duty, — John

¹ Chalmers. Hazard.

² At New Haven the republican spirit was so strong, that several of the principal inhabitants declined to act as magistrates under the king. Trumbull. It was here that Goffe and Whalley found the securest asylum, and ended their days. When a party of royal officers were coming in pursuit of them to New Haven, Davenport, the minister of the place, preached publicly in favor of the regicides, from the text (Isaiah xvi., 3, 4), "Take counsel, execute judgment ; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday ; hide the outcasts ; bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab ; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler." Holmes. It is remarkable that Salem and New Haven, so highly distinguished among the towns of New England by the Puritan and republican zeal of their founders, have so long continued to be graced by the superior piety, morality, industry, and prosperity of their inhabitants. Dwight's description of New Haven, in the commencement of the nineteenth century, is one of the most animating and agreeable pictures that were ever delineated of a social congregation of mankind. Dwight's *Travels*.

Winthrop, the son of the eminent person of the same name who had presided with so much honor and virtue over the province of Massachusetts. Winthrop, deriving a hereditary claim on the kindness of the king from a friendship that had subsisted between his own grandfather and Charles the First,¹ employed it so successfully, as to obtain for his constituents a charter in almost every respect the same with that which was granted to Rhode Island. The most considerable differences were, that by the Connecticut charter the governor was directed to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the inhabitants, — a formality which was not required by the charter of Rhode Island, where many of the people scrupled to take an oath; and that by the last-mentioned charter liberty of conscience was expressly conceded in its fullest extent, while the other made no express mention of the concerns of religion, and no other allusion to them than what might seem to be implied in the requisition of the oath of supremacy. By this charter New Haven was united with Connecticut; an arrangement which for some time did not obtain the unanimous approbation of the people of New Haven, although they afterwards heartily acquiesced in it; and the description of the provincial territory was indefinite and incorrect. But on the whole it gave so much satisfaction, that Winthrop, on his return, was received with grateful approbation by his fellow-citizens, and annually chosen governor of the united colony as long as he lived.²

There was thus established by royal charter, both in Connecticut and Rhode Island, a model of government the most perfectly democratic, together with the additional singularity of subordinate political corporations almost wholly disconnected by any efficient tie or relation with the organ of sovereign authority. All power, as well deliberative as active, was vested in the freemen of the corporation or their delegates;

¹ Mather relates, that, when Winthrop presented the king with a ring which Charles the First had given to his grandfather, "the king not only accepted his present, but also declared that he accounted it one of his richest jewels; which, indeed, was the opinion that New England had of the hand that carried it." Yet Charles had, little more than a year before, consigned to a horrid death Hugh Peters, the father-in-law of Winthrop. See Note XI., at the end of the volume.

² Mather. Chalmers. Hazard.

and the supreme executive magistrate of the empire was excluded from every constitutional means of interposition or control. A conformity to the laws of England, no doubt, was enjoined on the provincial legislatures ; and this conformity was conditioned as the tenure by which their privileges were enjoyed ; but no method of ascertaining or enforcing its observance was provided. At a later period, the crown lawyers of England were sensible of the oversight which their predecessors had committed ; and proposed that an act of parliament should be obtained, requiring those colonies to transmit the records of their domestic ordinances to Britain for the inspection and consideration of the king. But this suggestion was never carried into effect.¹

¹ Chalmers. "The charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were carelessly given by a very careless monarch." Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*.

CHAPTER IV.

Emigration of ejected Ministers to New England. — Royal Commissioners sent thither. — Petition of the Assembly of Massachusetts to the King — rejected. — Policy pursued by the Commissioners. — Their Disputes with the Government of Massachusetts — and Return to England. — Policy of the Colonists to conciliate the King — Effects of it. — Cession of Acadia to the French. — Prosperous State of New England. — Conspiracy of the Indians. — Philip's War. — The King resumes his Designs against Massachusetts. — Controversy respecting the Right to Maine and New Hampshire. — Progress of the Dispute between the King and the Colony. — State of Parties in Massachusetts. — State of Religion and Morals in New England. — Surrender of the Charter of Massachusetts demanded by the King — refused by the Colonists. — Writ of Quo Warranto issued against the Colony. — Firmness of the People. — Their Charter adjudged to be forfeited.

ALTHOUGH New England now [1663] consisted of a variety of distinct social communities independent of each other, yet a common and harmonious policy was naturally engendered in societies founded by men acknowledging the same national origin, conducted to America by the same motives, and assimilated by religious tenets, manners, laws, and municipal institutions. The commercial system which the English parliament thought fit to pursue tended still farther to unite these colonies by identity of views, interests, and purposes. The Navigation Acts which it framed, and which we have considered at much length in the history of Virginia, created for a time more discontent than inconvenience, and served rather to proclaim than to enforce the restrictions designed to be imposed on the colonial commerce. These restrictions were a copious and continual source of displeasure and controversy between the two countries. The colonies had been accustomed in their infancy to a free trade; and its surrender was required with the more injustice, and yielded with the greater reluctance, because England was not then a mart in which all the produce of the colonies could be vended, or from which all the wants of their inhabitants could be supplied. Even in the southern

colonies, where the governors were appointed either by the crown or by proprietaries closely connected with the parent state, the Act of Navigation was very imperfectly executed ; and in New England, where the governors were elected by the people, it appears, for a considerable time, to have been entirely disobeyed.¹

While the commercial system of the English parliament thus tended to unite the colonies by community of interest and opposition to the parent state, the ecclesiastical policy which now prevailed in England was calculated to promote among the colonists the remembrance of the original causes of secession from her territory, and at once to revive their influence, and recommend the exercise of toleration by sympathy with the victims of an opposite principle. Charles the Second had obtained the assistance of the English Presbyterians to his restoration by express and solemn promise of an ecclesiastical constitution framed on a compromise between Episcopalian and Presbyterian principles ; but by the advice, or at least with the cordial approbation, of Lord Clarendon, he scrupled not to violate this engagement as soon as he found himself securely established on the throne. In consequence of the rigorous execution of that shameless act of perfidy, the statute of uniformity, in the close of the preceding year, about two thousand of the English clergy, the most eminent of their order for learning, virtue, and piety, were ejected from the established church, and, to the astonishment of the prevailing party, sacrificed temporal interest to the dictates of conscience. They were afterwards banished to the distance of five miles from every corporation in England ; and many of them died in prison for privately exercising their ministry in contravention of the law. While the majority of them remained in Britain, to preserve by their instructions the decaying piety of their native land, a considerable number were conducted to New England, there to invigorate American virtue by a fresh example of conscientious sacrifice, and to form a living and touching memorial of the cruelty and injustice of religious intolerance. The merits and the sufferings of these men strongly excited

¹ Chalmers.

the admiration and sympathy of the people of New England ; and this year an invitation was despatched to Dr. John Owen, one of the most eminent scholars and theologians that the world has ever produced, to accept an ecclesiastical appointment in Massachusetts. Owen declined to avail himself of this invitation, on account of the cloud of royal displeasure which he perceived to be gathering against Massachusetts, and the measures which he had reason to believe would ere long be adopted for the subjugation of its civil and religious liberties. Other countries besides America contended for the honor of sheltering this illustrious man from the persecution of the church of England, and for the happiness and advantage expected from his presence, example, and counsels ; for his character was equal to his genius and learning. But he preferred suffering in a land of which he fully understood the language, to enjoyment and honor among a people with whom his communication must necessarily have been more restricted. At a later period, when the presidency of Harvard College was offered to him, he consented to embrace this sphere of useful and important duty ; and having shipped his effects for New England, was preparing to accompany them, when his steps were arrested by an order from Charles, expressly commanding him not to depart from the kingdom.¹

The apprehension which the inhabitants of Massachusetts had entertained, ever since the Restoration, of hostile designs of the English government, and which had been confirmed by the reasons assigned by Dr. Owen for refusing the first invitation they tendered to him, was strengthened by all the other intelligence they obtained from England. A great number of the ejected Non-conformist ministers who had made preparation for emigrating to Massachusetts now declined to settle in a country on which the extreme of royal vengeance was expected to descend ; and at length the most positive information was received, that Charles had openly avowed, that, although he was willing to preserve the provincial charter, he was nevertheless determined to institute an inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining how far the provisions of this charter had been

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

practically observed. It was reported soon after, that the king had associated this object with the design which he cherished of provoking a quarrel with Holland ; and that for this double purpose he was preparing to despatch an expedition for the reduction of the Dutch settlement of New York, and meant to send along with it a board of commissioners empowered to investigate and judge (according to their own discretion) all complaints and disputes that might exist within New England, and to take every step they might judge necessary for settling the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation. In effect, a commission for these purposes, as well as for the reduction of New York, had already been issued by the king to Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. This measure, conspiring with the reports that had long prevailed of the projects harboured by the court of England against the liberties of the colonists, was calculated to strike them with dismay. They knew that plausible pretexts were not wanting to justify a censorious view of certain parts of their conduct ; and they were firmly persuaded that the dislike and suspicion with which the king regarded them would never be satisfied by any measure short of the entire abrogation of their institutions.

Various controversies had arisen between the different settlements, concerning the boundaries of their respective territories ; and loud complaints were preferred by the representatives of Mason, and by Gorges, and other members of the old Council of Plymouth, of the occupation of districts and the exercise of jurisdiction to which these complainers pretended a preferable right. The claim of Mason to New Hampshire, derived from the assignment of the Plymouth Council, had never been expressly surrendered ; and Gorges's title to Maine was confirmed and enlarged by a grant from the late king, in the year 1639. As Gorges adhered to the royal cause in the civil wars, the death of the king produced the temporary demise of his patent ; both he and Mason's heirs had long abandoned their projects, in despair of ever prosecuting them to a successful issue. But now the restoration of royalty in England presented them with an opportunity of vindicating their claims ; and the congregation of inhabitants in the terri-

tories promised advantage from such vindication. They had as yet reaped no benefit from the money expended on their acquisitions ; but they now embraced the prospect, and claimed the right of the labors of others, who, in ignorance of their pretensions, had occupied and colonized a vacant soil, and held it by the right of purchase from its native proprietors. In addition to this formidable controversy, many complaints were preferred by royalists, Quakers, and Episcopalians, of abuses in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Massachusetts. The investigation and adjustment of these complaints and controversies were the principal reasons assigned for the royal commission. But, doubtless, the main object of concern to the English court was the suppression or essential modification of institutions founded and administered on principles that had so long warred with monarchy, and so recently prevailed over it. The colonists readily believed the accounts they received from their friends in England of this hostile disposition of their sovereign ; and the proclamation by which they cautioned the enemies of his government not to expect shelter in Massachusetts was intended to remove or appease it. When intelligence was received of the expected visitation from England, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a day of solemn fast and prayer throughout its jurisdiction, in order to implore the mercy of God under their many distractions and troubles ; and deeming it a point of the highest importance that the patent or charter should be kept "safe and secret," they ordered their secretary to bring it into court, and deliver it to four of the members, who were directed to dispose of it in such manner as they should judge most conducive to its secure preservation. Aware of the profane, licentious manners of European sailors and soldiers, and reflecting on the peculiar strictness of the provincial laws, the Court adopted at the same time the most prudent precautions for preventing the necessity of either a hazardous enforcement or a pusillanimous suspension of its municipal ordinances.¹

On the arrival of the royal armament at Boston in the following year [1664], the commissioners exhibited their credentials

¹ Hutchinson. Belknap. Sullivan. Hazard.

to the governor and council, and demanded, in the first instance, that a troop of provincial militia should be embodied to accompany the English forces in the invasion of New York. Endicott, the governor, neither relishing the enterprise, nor empowered by the forms of the provincial constitution to levy forces without express permission from the General Court, judged it necessary to convoke this body; but the commissioners, who had not leisure to await its deliberations, proceeded with the fleet against New York, desiring that the provincial auxiliaries should follow as quickly as possible, and signifying to the governor and council that they had much important business to transact with them on their return from New York, and that in the mean time the General Court would do well to bestow a fuller consideration than they seemed yet to have done on the letter which the king addressed to them two years before. The vague, mysterious terms of this communication were certainly calculated, and would seem to have been deliberately intended, to increase the disquiet and apprehensions of the colonists. That they produced this impression is manifest from the transactions that ensued in the General Court.

On the assembling of this body, it was declared by an immediate and unanimous vote, that they were "resolved to bear true allegiance to his Majesty, and to adhere to a patent so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." In compliance with the requisition of the commissioners, they equipped a regiment of two hundred men, who were preparing to embark for New York, when intelligence arrived that the place had already surrendered, and that the junction of the English and provincial forces was no longer necessary. The assembly then resumed consideration of the king's letter, which was so emphatically commended to their attention; and passed a law extending the elective franchise to all the inhabitants of English or provincial birth, paying public rates to a certain amount, and attested by a minister as orthodox in their religious principles and not immoral in their lives, whether within or without the pale of the established church. They next proceeded to frame and transmit to the king a petition strongly expressive of their present apprehensions and their habitual

sentiments. They represented at considerable length the dangers and difficulties they had encountered in founding and rearing their settlement ; the explicit confirmation which their privileges had received, both from the reigning monarch and his predecessor ; and their own recognition of royal authority, and willingness to testify their allegiance in every righteous way. They expressed their concern at the appointment of four commissioners, one of whom (Maverick) was their known and professed enemy, who were vested with an indefinite authority, in the exercise of which they were to be guided, not by the known rules of law, but by their own discretion ; and they declared, that even the little experience which already they had obtained of the dispositions of these persons was sufficient to assure them that the powers conferred by the commission would be employed to the complete subversion of the provincial constitution. If any advantage was expected from the imposition of new rules and the infringement of their liberties, the design, they protested, would produce only disappointment to its authors ; for the country was so poor, that it afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, and the people were so much attached to their institutions, that, if deprived of them in America, they would seek them in new and more distant habitations ; and if they were driven out of their present territory, it would not be easy to find another race of inhabitants who would be willing to sojourn in it.¹ They averred, in a solemn appeal to God, that they came not into this wilderness in quest of temporal grandeur or advantage, but for the sake of a quiet life ; and concluded in the following strains of earnest anxiety :—"Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live ; so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, Let the king live for ever !"

¹ It is curious to observe the expression of a similar sentiment by the inhabitants of the province of Aragon. The preamble to one of the laws of Aragon declares that such was the barrenness of the country, that, but for the sake of the liberties by which they were distinguished from other nations, the people would abandon it, and repair in quest of a settlement to some more fruitful region. Robertson's *History of Charles the Fifth*. Thucydides (B. I.) ascribes to the poverty of its soil the peculiar adherence of the Athenians to their country.

Letters suing for favor and friendly mediation were addressed at the same time to several of the English nobility, and particularly to the chancellor, Lord Clarendon. But these applications were unsuccessful. Clarendon was no friend to Puritan establishments ; he had instigated, or at least cordially abetted, the existing persecution against sectaries of every denomination in England ; and he was at present too painfully sensible of his declining credit with the king, to risk the farther provocation of his displeasure by moving the suit of a people whom the monarch disliked, and opposing a favorite scheme of royal policy. In a letter to the provincial governor, he defended the commission as a constitutional exercise of royal power and wisdom, and a manifest indication of his Majesty's grace and goodness ; and advised the colonists, by a prompt submission, to deprecate the consequences of that indignation which their ungrateful clamor must already have excited in the breast of the king. The answer of Charles, which was transmitted by Secretary Morrice, to the petition of the General Court, excited less surprise. It reproached this assembly with making unreasonable and groundless complaints ; represented the commission as the only proper means of rectifying the provincial disorders ; and affected to consider the petition as "the contrivance of a few persons who infuse jealousies into their fellow-subjects as if their charter were in danger."¹

No sooner was the conquest of New York completed,² than the commissioners addressed themselves to the discharge of their civil functions in New England. One of the first official acts that they had occasion to perform was the adjustment of a dispute respecting boundaries, that arose out of the occupation of New York. [1665.] A patent had been granted to the Duke of York, of all the territory occupied or claimed by the Dutch, including large districts already comprehended in the charter of Connecticut. A controversy concerning limits was thus created by the act of the crown, between the State of Connecticut and the new province designated by the patent of the Duke of York. Their boundaries were now adjusted by the commissioners in a manner which appears to have been

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

² See Book V., chap. I., *post*.

highly satisfactory to the people of Connecticut, but which entailed a great deal of subsequent dispute. Another controversy, in which Connecticut was involved, arose out of a claim to part of its territory preferred by the Duke of Hamilton, and other persons, in virtue of rights that had accrued to themselves or their ancestors as members of the Grand Council of Plymouth. The commissioners, desirous of giving satisfaction to both parties, adjudged the property of the disputed soil to these individual claimants, but declared that the municipal government of the territory appertained to Connecticut. It appears manifestly to have been their policy to detach the other New England States from the obnoxious province of Massachusetts, and to procure their coöperation (by the example of implicit submission on their own part, and the accumulation of complaints against that province) in the design of curtailing her liberties and altering her institutions. In the prosecution of this policy they were but partially successful. The people of Connecticut received the commissioners with frigid respect, and plainly showed that they disliked their mission, and regarded the cause of Massachusetts as their own. Nay, so strongly were they impressed with the danger to their liberties from the interposition of such arbitrary power, that some disagreements, which had arisen between Connecticut and New Haven, and hitherto prevented their union in conformity with the recent charter, were entirely composed by the mere tidings of the approach of the commissioners. At Plymouth the commissioners met with little opposition ; the inhabitants being deterred from expression of their sentiments by a consciousness of their weakness, and being exempted from the apprehensions that prevailed in the provinces of greater consideration by a sense of their insignificance.

In Rhode Island alone was their insidious policy attended with success. There, the people received them with studious deference and submission ; their inquiries were answered, and their mandates obeyed, without a syllable of objection to the authority from which they emanated ; and during their stay in this settlement they were enabled to amplify their reports with numberless complaints of injustice and misgovernment alleged to have been committed in Massachusetts. The inhabitants

of Rhode Island, as we have seen, gained their late charter by a display of subservience and devotion to the crown ; and the liberal institutions which it introduced had not yet had time to form a spirit that disdained to hold the enjoyment of liberty by so ignoble a tenure. The freedom thus spuriously begotten was tainted in its birth by principles that long rendered its existence precarious ; and we shall find these colonists, a few years after, abjectly proposing to strip themselves of the rights which they gained so ill, and of which they now showed themselves unworthy, by their willingness to coöperate in attacking the liberties of Massachusetts. We must not, however, discard from our recollection that Rhode Island was yet but a feeble community, and that the unfavorable sentiments with which many of its inhabitants regarded Massachusetts arose from the persecution which their religious tenets had experienced in this province. Their conduct to the commissioners received the warmest approbation from Charles, who assured them that he would never be unmindful of the claims they had acquired on his goodness by a demeanour so replete with loyalty and humility.¹ In justice to the king, whose word was proverbially the object of very little reliance, we may observe that he never actually contradicted these professions of favor for Rhode Island ; and in justice to a moral lesson that would be otherwise incomplete, we may here so far transgress the pace of time, as to remark, that, when Charles's successor extended to Rhode Island the same tyrannical system which he introduced into the other New England provinces, and when the people endeavoured to avert the blow by a repetition of the abject pliancy that had formerly availed them, their prostration was disregarded, and their complete subjugation pursued and accomplished with an insolence that forcibly taught them to detest oppression and despise servility.

It was in Massachusetts that the commission was expected to produce its most important effects ; and from the difference between the views and opinions entertained by the English government and by the provincial authorities, it was easily foreseen that the proceedings of the commissioners would

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

provoke a keen and resolute opposition. Among other communications, which the commissioners were charged to convey to the colonists, was, that the king considered them to stand in precisely the same relation to him as the inhabitants of Kent or Yorkshire in England. Very different was the opinion which the colonists themselves entertained. They considered; that, having been forced by persecution to depart from the realm of England, and having established themselves by their own unassisted efforts in territories which they purchased from the natural proprietors, they retained no other political connection with their sovereign than what was created by their charter, which they regarded as the sole existing compact between the English crown and themselves, and as defining all the particulars and limits of their obedience. The acknowledged difference of sentiment in religion and politics between them and their ancient rulers, from which their colonial settlement originated, and the habits of self-government that they had long been enabled to indulge, confirmed these prepossessions, and tended generally and deeply to impress the conviction, that their primitive allegiance, as natives of England and subjects of the British crown, was entirely dissolved and superseded by the stipulations which they had voluntarily contracted by accepting their charter. Such opinions, though strongly cherished, it was not prudent distinctly to profess; but their prevalence is attested by a respectable provincial historian, on the authority of certain manuscript compositions of the leading persons in Massachusetts at this period, which he had an opportunity of perusing. The colonists were not the less attached to these notions, from the apprehension that they would find as little favor in the eyes of the English government as the tenets which had led to the persecution and emigration of their ancestors; they were, indeed, quite repugnant to the principles of the English law, which regards the allegiance of subjects to their sovereign, not as a local or provincial, but as a perpetual and indissoluble tie, which distance of place does not sunder, nor lapse of time relax. Forcibly aware of these differences of opinion, of the dangerous collisions which might result from them, and of the disadvantage with which they must conduct a discussion with persons who sought nothing so much as to

find or make them offenders, the colonists awaited, with much anxiety, the return of the commissioners to Boston.¹

The character and disposition of these commissioners increased the probability of an unfriendly issue to their debates with the provincial authorities. If conciliation was, as the king professed, the object which he had in view in instituting the commission, he was singularly unfortunate in the selection of the instruments to whom the discharge of its important duties was confided. Nichols, indeed, was a man of honor, good sense, and ability ; but it was mainly for the reduction and subsequent governance of New York that he had been appointed to accompany the expedition ; he remained at that place after its capitulation ; and when he afterwards rejoined his colleagues, he found himself unable to control their conduct, or repair the breach which they had already occasioned. The other commissioners were utterly destitute of the temper,² sense, and address which their office demanded ; and Maverick added to these defects an inveterate hostility to the colony, which had induced him for years to solicit the functions which he now hastened to execute with malignant satisfaction. On their return to Boston [April, 1665], the very first communication which they addressed to the governor demonstrated the slight respect they entertained for the provincial authorities ; for they required that all the inhabitants of the province should be assembled to receive and reply to their communication ; and when the governor desired to know the cause of this requisition, they answered, “ that the motion was so reasonable, that he who would not attend to it was a traitor.” Perceiving, however, that this violent language served rather to confirm the suspicions than to shake the resolution of the pro-

¹ Hutchinson.

² The senselessness of their conduct is strongly illustrated by a case related at considerable length by the provincial historians. They had been drinking, one Saturday night, in a tavern, after the hour when, by the provincial laws, all taverns were ordered to be shut. A constable, who warned them not to infringe the law, was beaten by them. Hearing that Mason, another constable, had declared that he would not have been deterred by their violence from doing his duty, they sent for him, and extorted from him an admission that he would have arrested the king himself, if he had found him drinking in a public house after lawful hours. They insisted that he should be tried for high treason, and actually prevailed to have this injustice committed. The jury returned a special verdict ; and the court, considering the words offensive and insolent, but not treasonable, inflicted only a slight punishment.— Hutchinson.

vincial magistrates, they condescended for a while to adopt a more conciliating tone, and informed the General Court that they had favorably represented to the king the promptness with which his commands had been obeyed in the equipment of a provincial regiment ; but it was soon ascertained that they had actually transmitted a representation of perfectly opposite import.

The suspicions which the commissioners and the General Court reciprocally entertained of each other prevented, from the outset, any cordial coöperation between them. The communications of the commissioners display the most lofty ideas of their own authority as representatives of the crown, with a preconceived opinion that there was an indisposition on the part of the General Court to pay due respect to their authority, as well as to the source from which it was derived. The answers of the General Court manifest an anxious desire to avoid a quarrel with the king, and to gratify his Majesty by professions of loyalty and submission, and by every municipal change that seemed likely to meet his wishes, without compromising the fundamental principles of their peculiar polity. They expressed, at the same time, a deliberate conviction of having done nothing that merited displeasure or required apology, and a steady determination to abide by the charter. The correspondence gradually degenerated into altercation. At length, the commissioners demanded from the Court an explicit answer to the question, if they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's commission. But the Court desired to be excused from giving any other answer than that they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's charter, with which they were much better acquainted. Finding that their object was not to be gained by threats or expostulations, the commissioners attempted a practical assertion of their pretensions ; they granted letters of protection to persons who were prosecuted before the provincial tribunals ; and in a civil suit, which was already determined by the provincial judges, they promoted an appeal to themselves from the unsuccessful party, and summoned him and his adversary to plead before them. The General Court perceived that they must now or never make a stand in defence of their authority ; and with a decision which showed the high value they entertained for their privi-

leges, and the vigor with which they were prepared to guard them, they publicly proclaimed their disapprobation of this measure, and declared, that, in discharge of their duty to God and the king, and in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them by the king's good subjects in the colony, they must protest against the proceedings of the commissioners, and disclaim friendship with all who would countenance or abet them. They accompanied this vigorous demonstration with an offer to compromise the dispute by rejudging the cause themselves in presence of the commissioners ; but this proposition was scornfully rejected, and every effort to establish harmony between these conflicting authorities proved unavailing.

Suspending for a time their operations at Boston, the commissioners repaired to New Hampshire and Maine, and instantly pronouncing sentence in favor of the claims of Mason and Gorges against the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they suppressed the existing authorities, and erected a new system of government in each of those provinces. On their return to Boston, the General Court declared that these measures tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and demanded a conference with the commissioners, which was refused with an asperity of reproach that excluded all farther correspondence. Sir Robert Carr even went the length of assuring the General Court that the king's pardon for their manifold treasons during the civil war had been merely conditional and was now forfeited by their evil behaviour, and that the contrivers of their late measures would speedily endure the same punishment which their associates in rebellion had recently experienced in England.

The king, having been apprized of these transactions, and assured by the commissioners that it was fruitless for them to prolong a discussion with persons who were determined to misconstrue all their words and actions, issued letters, recalling these functionaries to England [1666], expressing his satisfaction with the conduct of all the colonies except Massachusetts, and commanding the General Court of this province to send deputies to answer in his presence the charges preferred against their countrymen. But the inhabitants of Massachusetts were aware that in such a controversy they had not the

remotest chance of success, and that it was not by reasonable pleas, or the cogency of argument, that they could hope to pacify the displeasure of their sovereign. Instead of complying with his injunction, the General Court addressed a letter to the secretary of state, in which they hinted real or pretended doubts of the authenticity of the royal mandate, and declared that their cause had already been so plainly and minutely unfolded, that the ablest among them would be utterly incapable of rendering it any clearer. At the same time they endeavoured to appease his Majesty by humble addresses expressive of their loyalty ; and in order to demonstrate the sense they attached to these professions, they purchased a ship-load of masts which they presented to the king ; and learning that his fleet in the West Indies was distressed by want of provisions, they promoted a contribution among themselves, and victualled it at their own expense. Charles accepted their presents very graciously ; and a letter under the sign manual having been transmitted to the General Court, declaring that their zeal for the royal service was “ taken well by his Majesty,” the cloud that had gathered over the colony in this quarter seemed for the present to be dispersed.¹ Nevertheless, the design that had been so far disclosed of remodelling the institutions of New England was by no means abandoned. The report of the commissioners furnished Charles with the very pretexts that were wanting to the accomplishment of his plans ; and the measures which he embraced, at a later period, demonstrated that it was not the dutiful professions or liberalities of the colonists that would deter him from availing himself of the advantages which he had made such efforts to obtain. But the dreadful affliction of the *plague*, — which broke out with such violence, as in one year to destroy ninety thousand of the inhabitants of London, and to transfer for a time the seat of government to Oxford, — the great fire of London,² the wars and

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

² A liberal contribution was made by the people of Massachusetts, and transmitted to London, for relief of the sufferers by the fire. Hutchinson. We have seen their kindness honorably repaid [1836], by a subscription among the citizens of London for relief of the sufferers by a vast conflagration at New York. The people of New England have always been honorably distinguished by their charitable participation of the misfortunes of other communities. In the year 1703, they contributed £2,000 for the relief of the

intrigues on the continent of Europe, and the rising discontents of the people of Britain, so forcibly engaged the attention of the king, as to suspend for a while the execution of his designs against the institutions of New England.

After the departure of the royal commissioners, the provinces of New England enjoyed for some years a quiet and prosperous condition. The only disturbance which their internal tranquillity sustained arose from the persecutions, which, in all the States except Rhode Island, continued to be waged against the Anabaptists, as these sectaries, from time to time, attracted notice by attempting to propagate their tenets. Letters were written in their behalf to the provincial magistrates by the most eminent dissenting ministers in England ; but though it was strongly urged by the writers of these letters, that the severe persecution which the Anabaptists were then enduring in the parent state should recommend them to the sympathy of the colonists, and that their conversion was more likely to be accomplished by exemplifying to them the peaceable fruits of righteousness than by attacking their doctrines with penal inflictions, which could have no other effect than to render them martyrs or hypocrites, the intercession, though respectfully received, was completely unavailing. The provincial authorities persisted in believing that they were doing God service by employing the civil power with which they were invested to guard their territories from the intrusion of what they deemed heresy, and to maintain the purity of those religious principles for the culture and preservation of which their settlements were originally founded. A considerable number of Anabaptists were fined, imprisoned, and banished ; and persecution produced its usual effect of confirming the senti-

inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christophers, which had been ravaged by the French. Holmes. In the same year, they had an opportunity of showing that their hands were as ready to repel the danger as to relieve the calamities of their friends. The planters of Jamaica having besought the assistance of New England to repel an invasion that was apprehended from the French, two regiments were promptly embodied and despatched for this purpose to Jamaica, where they remained two years. Oldmixon (2d edit.). Military aid was not the only benefit which the West India planters derived from New England, which appears frequently to have supplied them, at their request, with ministers of religion. Holmes. Of the generous exertions of the New-Englanders, both for the instruction and the defence of the colonists of Carolina, some notice will be found in Book IV., Chap. II., and Book VIII., Chap. II., *post*.

ments and propagating the tenets which it sought to extirpate, by causing their professors to connect them in their own minds, and to exhibit them to others in connection, with suffering for conscience's sake. These proceedings, however, contributed more to stain the character of the colonists than to disturb their tranquillity. Much greater disquiet was created by the intelligence of the cession of Acadia, or, as it was now generally termed, *Nova Scotia*, to the French by the treaty of Breda. [1667.] Nothing had contributed more to promote the commerce and security of New England than the conquest of that province by Cromwell; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts, apprized of the extreme solicitude of the French to regain it, and justly regarding such an issue as pregnant with mischief and danger to themselves, sent agents to England to remonstrate against it. But the influence of France prevailed with the British monarch over the interest of his people; and the conduct of Charles on this occasion betrayed as much indifference for the external security of the colonies, as his previous measures had disclosed for their domestic liberties. The French regained possession of their ancient settlement; and both New England and the mother country had afterwards abundant cause to regret the admission of a restless and ambitious neighbour, who for a long course of time exerted her peculiar arts of intrigue to interrupt the pursuits and disturb the repose of the British colonists.¹

The system of government that prevailed in Massachusetts coincided with the sentiments of a great majority of the people; and even those acts of municipal administration that imposed restraints on civil liberty were revered on account of their manifest design and their supposed efficiency to promote an object which the people held dearer than civil liberty itself. A printing-press had been established at Cambridge for upwards of twenty years; and the General Court had recently appointed two persons to be licensers of the press, and prohibited the publication of any book or other composition that was not sanctioned by their censorial approbation. The licensers having authorized the publication of Thomas à Kempis's ad-

¹ Neal Chalmers.

mirable treatise *De Imitatione Christi*, the Court interposed [1668], and, declaring that "the book was written by a popish minister, and contained some things less safe to be infused among the people," recommended a more diligent revisal to the licensers, and in the meantime suspended the publication. In a constitution less popular, a measure of this nature would have been regarded as an outrage upon liberty. But the government of Massachusetts expressed and was supported by the feelings and opinions of the people; and so generally respected was its administration, that the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine, rejecting the form of municipal authority which they received from the royal commissioners, again solicited and were received into the rank of dependencies on its jurisdiction. All traces of the visitation of these commissioners being thus effaced, and the apprehensions excited by their measures forgotten, the affairs of the New England colonies continued for several years to glide on in a course of silent but cheerful prosperity.¹ The Navigation Act, not being aided by the establishment of an efficient custom-house, and depending for its execution upon officers annually elected by their own fellow-citizens, was completely disregarded. [1668-1672.] The people enjoyed a commerce practically unrestricted; a consequent increase of wealth was visible among the merchants and farmers; and habits of industry and economy continuing to

¹ In the year 1669, the inhabitants of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, presented an address to the General Court of Massachusetts, signifying, "that, although they had articted with them for exemption from taxes, yet they had never articted with God and their own consciences for exemption from gratitude," and that they now pledged themselves for seven years to an annual contribution of sixty pounds sterling to the funds of Harvard College. — Quincy's *History of Harvard University*.

In the year 1672, the laws of Connecticut (till then preserved in manuscript, and promulgated by oral proclamation) were collected into a code, printed, and published. The Preface, written with great solemnity, commences in this manner: — "To our beloved brethren and neighbours, the inhabitants of Connecticut, the General Court of that colony wish grace and peace in our Lord Jesus." It was ordered that every householder should have a copy of the code, and should read it weekly to his family. Trumbull. The legislators of Connecticut seem to have thought, like Agesilaus, that the duties of a citizen should form part of the earliest education of a child.

In Connecticut, by a law of 1667, three years' voluntary separation of married persons is held to dissolve their matrimonial engagement. It is strange that a law departing so widely from the injunctions of Scripture should have gained admission into the codes of Scotland and of New England, — two countries long distinguished above all others by the general and zealous desire of their people to harmonize their municipal ordinances with the canons of Scripture.

prevail with unabated force, the plantations underwent a progressive improvement, and many new settlements arose.

From a document preserved in the archives of the colonial office of London, and published by Chalmers, it appears, that, in the year 1673, New England was estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms ; and of the merchants and planters there were no fewer than five thousand persons, each of whom was worth £ 3,000.¹ Three fourths of the wealth and population of the country centred in the territory of Massachusetts and its dependencies. The town of Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families. Theft was rare, and beggary unknown in New England. Josselyn, who returned about two years before this period from his second visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeableness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the substantial structure and interior comfort of all the private dwellings.² During this interval of tranquil prosperity, many of the more aged inhabitants of New England closed the career of a long and eventful life ; and the original race of settlers was now almost entirely extinguished. The annals of this period are filled with accounts of their deaths, — of the virtues by which they contributed to the foundation of the new commonwealth, and of the fondness with which their closing eyes lingered upon its flourishing estate. To our retrospective view, enlarged by the knowledge which history supplies of the impending calamities from which these persons were thus seasonably removed, not the least enviable circumstance of their lot appears to have been, that they died in scenes so fraught with serene enjoyment and cheering promise, and bequeathed to their descendants at once the bright example of their virtue, and the substantial fruits of it, in a singularly happy and prosperous condition. Yet, so short-sighted and fallacious are the prospective regards of men, — so strongly are they led by an instinc-

¹ John Dunton, who visited New England about twelve years after this period, mentions a merchant in Salem worth £ 30,000. — Dunton's *Life and Errors*.

² Josselyn's *Second Voyage*: Even at this early period, Josselyn has remarked the prevalence of that inveterate but unexplained peculiarity, of the premature decay of the teeth of white persons, and especially women, in North America.

tive and unquenchable propensity to figure and desire something better than they behold, — and so apt to restrict to the present fleeting and disordered scene the suggestions of this secret longing after original and immortal perfection, — that many of the fathers of the colony, even when, full of days and honor, they beheld their latter end crowned with peace, could not refrain from lamenting that they had been born too soon to see more than the first faint dawn of New England's glory. Others, with greater enlargement of wisdom and piety, remembered the Scriptural declaration, that *the eye is not satisfied with seeing*; acknowledged that the conceptions of an immortal spirit are incapable of being adequately filled by any thing short of the vision of its Divine Author, for whose contemplation it was created; and were contented to drop like leaves into the bosom of their adopted country, and resign to a succeeding race the enjoyment and promotion of her glory, in the confidence of their own renovated existence in scenes of more elevated and durable felicity.¹

The state of prosperous repose which New England enjoyed for several years was interrupted by a general conspiracy of the Indian tribes [1674], that produced a war so bloody and formidable as to threaten for some time the utter destruction of all the settlements. This hostile combination was promoted by a young chief whose history reminds us of the exploits of Opechancanough in Virginia. He was the second son of Massasoit, a prince who ruled a powerful tribe inhabiting territories adjacent to the settlement of Plymouth at the time when the English first gained a footing in the country. The father had entered into an alliance with the colonists, and, after his death, his two sons expressed an earnest desire to retain and cultivate their friendship. They even requested of the magistrates of Plymouth, as a mark of identification with their allies, that English names might be given them; and, in compliance with their desire, the elder received the name of Alexander, and the younger of Philip. But these expressions of good-will were prompted entirely by the artifice that regulated their schemes of hostility; and they were both shortly

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Neal.

after detected and disappointed in a treacherous attempt to involve the Narragansets in hostilities with the colonists. The haughty spirit of the elder brother was overwhelmed by this disgrace. Unable to brook the detection and discomfiture of his perfidy, and perhaps additionally stung by the generous clemency of the colonists, which lent aggravation to his infamy, he abandoned himself to despair, and died of the corrosion of rage and mortification. Philip, after the death of his brother, renewed the alliance between his tribe and the English ; but nothing was farther from his thoughts than the fulfilment of his engagements. Subtle, fierce, artful, and dissembling, yet stern in adventurous purpose and relentless cruelty, he meditated a universal conspiracy of the Indians for the extirpation of the colonists, and for several years pursued this design as secretly and successfully as the numerous difficulties that encompassed him would permit. Next to the growing power of the European settlers, nothing more keenly provoked his indignation than the progress of their missionary labors ; and, in reality, it was to these labors, and some of the consequences they produced, that the colonists were indebted for their preservation from the ruin that would have attended the success of Philip's machinations. Some of the tribes to whom he applied revealed his propositions to the missionaries ; and several Indians who had embraced his schemes were persuaded by their converted brethren to renounce them. The magistrates of Plymouth frequently remonstrated with him on the dishonor he incurred and the danger he provoked by the perfidious machinations of which from time to time they obtained information ; and by renewed and more solemn engagements than before, he endeavoured to disarm their vigilance and allay their apprehension. For two or three years before the present period, he pursued his hostile projects with such successful duplicity as to elude discovery and even suspicion ; and had now succeeded in uniting some of the fiercest and most powerful of the Indian tribes in a confederacy to make war on the colonists to the point of extermination.

A converted Indian, who was laboring as a missionary among the tribes of his countrymen, having discovered the plot, revealed it to the governor of Plymouth, and was soon

after found dead in a field, under circumstances that left no doubt of assassination. Some neighbouring Indians, suspected of being the perpetrators of this crime, were apprehended, and solemnly tried before a jury consisting half of English and half of Indians, who returned a verdict of guilty. At their execution, one of the convicts confessed the murder, — declaring, withal, that its commission had been planned and instigated by Philip ; and this crafty chief, alarmed at the perilous disclosure, now threw off the mask, and summoned his confederates to his aid. The States of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut took arms for their common defence, — having first employed every means to induce Philip to accommodate the quarrel by a friendly treaty. But a bloodless issue was not what Philip desired ; and perceiving that the season of secret conspiracy was over, he rejected all negotiation, and commenced a general war [1675], which was carried on with great vigor and various success. Though Philip's own tribe supplied no more than five hundred warriors, he had so increased his force by alliances that he was able to bring three thousand men into the field. This formidable host, conducted by a chief who was persuaded that the war must terminate in the total ruin of one or other of the conflicting parties, made exertions of which the Indians were hitherto supposed incapable. Several battles were fought, and all the fury, havoc, and cruelty which distinguish Indian warfare were experienced in their fullest extent by the English. Wherever the enemy marched, their route was marked with slaughter and desolation. Massachusetts and Plymouth were the States that suffered principally from the contest. There, especially, the Indians were so mingled with the European colonists, that there was scarcely a part of the country which was not exposed to danger, or a family which had not to bewail the loss of a relative or friend. In a woodland scene near the village of Deerfield, in Massachusetts, Captain Lothrop and a party of the provincial troops were suddenly attacked by an Indian force commanded by Philip himself ; and, unaware that to encounter such an enemy with effect he ought to place his men in phalanx, Lothrop posted them separately behind trees, where he and every one of them, to the number of ninety-three, were presently

shot down ; other provincial troops, now pressing up with unavailing succour, defeated the Indians and put them to flight. But, more elated with their first success than daunted by their final check, these savages speedily reappeared before the village and shook the scalps and bloody garments of the slaughtered captain and his troop before the eyes of the inhabitants. Deerfield was shortly after deserted by its harassed settlers, and destroyed by the triumphant Indians. It is a truth not yet sufficiently illustrated, that, in all the Indian wars of this period, the savages, from the condition of the country, their own superior acquaintance with it, and their peculiar habits of life and qualities of body and mind, enjoyed advantages which well-nigh counterbalanced the superiority of European science. They seemed to unite the instinct and ferocity of the brutal creation with the art and sagacity of rational beings, and were, in single combat and in the conflict of very small numbers, as superior, as in more numerous encounter they were inferior, to civilized men. Changing their own encampments with facility, and advancing upon those of the colonists with the wary, dexterous secrecy of beasts of prey, with them there was almost always the spirit and audacity of attack, and with their adversaries the disadvantages of defence and the consternation produced by surprise ; nor could the colonists obtain the means of attacking, in their turn, without following the savages into forests and swamps, where the benefit of their higher martial qualities was lost, and the system of European warfare rendered impracticable. The savages had long been acquainted with firearms, and were remarkably expert in the use of them.

For some time the incursions of the Indians could not be restrained ; and every enterprise or skirmish in which they reaped the slightest credit or advantage increased the number of their allies. But the savage artifice which Philip employed on one occasion, for the purpose of recruiting his forces, recoiled with merited injury on himself. Repairing with a band of his adherents to the territory of a neutral tribe, he caused certain of the people who belonged to it to be surprised and assassinated ; and then, proceeding to the head-quarters of the tribe, he affirmed that he had seen the murder committed by a party of the Plymouth soldiers. The tribe, in a flame of rage,

declared war on the colonists ; but their vindictive sentiments soon took another direction ; for one of the wounded men, having recovered his senses, made a shift to crawl to the habitations of his countrymen, and, though mortally injured, was able, before he expired, to disclose the real author of the tragedy. Revoking their former purpose, the tribe thereupon declared war on Philip, and espoused the cause of his enemies. Hostilities were protracted till near the close of the following year, when the steady efforts and determined courage of the colonists prevailed ; and, after a series of defeats, and the loss of all his family and chief counsellors, Philip himself was killed by one of his own tribe whom he had offended. [Aug. 1676.] Deprived of its chief abettor, the war was soon terminated by the submission of the Indians. Yet to certain of the tribes the colonists sternly denied all terms of capitulation, and warned them, before their surrender, that their treachery had been so gross and unprovoked, and their outrages so atrocious and unpardonable, that they must abide the issue of judicial arbitrament. In conformity with this declaration, some of the chiefs were tried and executed for murder ; and a number of their followers were transported to the West Indies, and sold as slaves. Never before had the people of New England been engaged in hostilities so fierce, so bloody, or so desolating. Many houses and flourishing villages were reduced to ashes ; and in the course of the warfare, six hundred persons of European birth or descent, composing the flower and strength of several of the districts, either fell in battle, were massacred in their dwellings, or expired beneath the tortures inflicted by the savages on their captives. The military operations of the colonists in these campaigns were thought, and perhaps justly, to disclose less skill and conduct than had been displayed in the Pequod War. They were, indeed, no longer commanded by the experienced officers who accompanied their ancestors from Europe ; and they were opposed to an enemy much more formidable than the Pequods. But the firm, enduring valor they manifested was worthy of men whose characters were formed under institutions no less favorable to freedom than virtue, and who fought in defence of all they held dear and valuable. Among other officers, Captain Church, of Massa-

achusetts, and Captain Denison, of Connecticut, have been particularly celebrated by the provincial historians for their heroic ardor and fortitude. In the commencement of the war, the surprising treachery practised by the hostile Indians naturally excited apprehensions of the defection of the Indian congregations which the missionaries had collected and partly civilized. But not one of these people proved unfaithful to their benefactors.¹

The Indian warfare by which New England was desolated during this period was not bounded by the hostilities of Philip and his confederates. An attack was made at the same time on New Hampshire and Maine, by the tribes that were situated in the vicinity of these settlements. The Indians complained that they had been defrauded and insulted by some of the English traders in that quarter;² but strong suspicions were entertained that their hostilities were promoted by the French government, now reëstablished in Acadia. The invasion of those territories was distinguished by the usual guile, ferocity, and cruelty of the savages. Many of the inhabitants were massacred, and others carried into captivity. Prompt assistance was rendered to her allies by Massachusetts; and after a variety of sharp engagements, the Indians sustained a considerable defeat. They were, notwithstanding, still able and willing to continue the war; and both their numbers and their animosity were increased by a measure which the provincial government adopted against them. It was proposed to the General Court of Massachusetts to invite the Mohawk tribe, who, from time immemorial, had been the enemies of the Eastern Indians, to make a descent on their territories at this

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. See Note XII., at the end of the volume.

² One of these complaints was occasioned by the brutal act of some English sailors in overturning an Indian canoe in which they observed an infant child, in order to ascertain the truth of a story they had heard, that swimming was as natural to a young Indian as to a young duck. The child died in consequence of the immersion; and its father, who was highly respected as a necromancer by the Indians, became the inveterate enemy of the English. Belknap. An action that excited still greater resentment was committed by Major Waldron, of New Hampshire, during the war. He had made a treaty of friendship with a band of four hundred Indians; but on discovering that some of them had served in Philip's army, he laid hold of these by a stratagem and sent them as prisoners to Boston. Their associates never forgave this breach of compact; and thirteen years after, a party of them, having surprised the major in his house by a stratagem still more artful than his own, put him to death by the most horrible inflictions of cruelty. Ibid.

junction. The lawfulness of using such auxiliaries was questioned by some ; but it was deemed a satisfactory answer to the objection, that Abraham confederated with the Amorites for the rescue of his kinsman, Lot, from the hands of a common enemy ;¹ and messengers were accordingly despatched to solicit the coöperation of the Mohawks. Little entreaty was necessary to induce them to comply with the invitation ; and a band of Mohawk warriors quickly marched against their hereditary foes. The expedition, however, so far from producing the slightest benefit, was attended with serious disadvantage to the cause of the colonists. The Indians who were their proper enemies suffered very little from the Mohawk invasion ; while some powerful tribes, who had been hitherto at peace with the colonists, exasperated by injuries or affronts which they received from those invaders, now declared war both against them and their English allies. At last, the intelligence of Philip's overthrow, and the probability of stronger forces being thus enabled to march against them, inclined the Eastern Indians to hearken to proposals of peace. The war in this quarter was terminated by a treaty favorable to the Indians, to whom the colonists engaged to pay a certain quantity of corn yearly as a quitrent for their lands.²

Although the neighbouring province of New York was now a British settlement, no assistance was obtained from it by the New England States in their long and obstinate conflict with the Indians. On the contrary, a hostile demonstration from that quarter augmented the distress and inquietude of the Indian war. Andros, who was then governor of the newly acquired province, having claimed for the Duke of York a considerable tract of land which in reality formed part of the Connecticut territory, asserted the denied pretension of his master by advancing with an armament against the town and fort of Saybrook, which he summoned to surrender. The inhabitants, though at first alarmed to behold the English flag unfurled against them, speedily recovered from their surprise ;

¹ Francis the Second, of France, had previously employed the same defensive argument in the proclamation by which he apologized for his alliance with the Turks. — Millot.

² Neal. Hutchinson. Belknap.

and hoisting the same flag on their walls, prepared to defend themselves against the assailants. Andros, who had not anticipated such resolute opposition, hesitated to fire upon the English flag; and learning that Captain Bull, an officer of distinguished bravery and determination, had marched with a party of the Connecticut militia for the defence of the place, judged it expedient to abandon his enterprise and return to New York.¹

The cessation of the Indian hostilities was not attended with a restoration of the happiness and tranquillity which they interrupted. The king had now matured the scheme of arbitrary government which he steadily pursued during the remainder of his inglorious reign; and the colonists, while yet afflicted with the smart of their recent calamities, were forced to resume their ancient controversies with the crown, which they had vainly hoped were forgotten or abandoned by the English government.² Instead of approbation for the bravery and the manly reliance on their own resources with which they had conducted their military operations, and repelled hostilities partly occasioned by the disregard of their interests exemplified by the mother country in restoring Acadia to the French, —they found themselves overwhelmed with reproaches for a haughty, factious obstinacy in refusing to solicit assistance from the king, and a sordid parsimony in the equipment of their levies, which (the British court declared) had caused the war to be so greatly protracted, and showed them utterly unfit to be longer intrusted with the government of a country in which their sovereign possessed so large a stake.³ Indications of the revival of royal dislike, and of the resumption of the king's former designs, had occurred before the conclusion of the war with Philip. While hostilities were still raging in the province, the government of Massachusetts found it necessary to direct a part of its attention to the claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine. In the summer of 1676, Randolph, a messenger despatched by the king,

¹ Trumbull.

² See Note XIII., at the end of the volume.

³ "You are poor, and yet proud," said Lord Anglesey, one of the king's ministers, in a letter to the domestic authorities of Massachusetts, "and you wish to be independent of the king's protection."

announced to the General Court that a judgment would be pronounced by his Majesty in council against their pretensions, unless, within six months, deputies were sent to plead in their behalf ; and as letters were received at the same time from the friends of the colonists in England, giving assurance that the king was determined to fulfil his threat, and that any apparent contumacy or procrastination on the part of the provincial government would but accelerate the execution of more formidable designs on which the English court was deliberating, the royal message received immediate attention, and Stoughton and Bulkeley were despatched as deputies to represent and support the interests of Massachusetts.¹

The respective titles and claims of the parties having been submitted to the consideration of the two chief justices of England, the legal merits of the question were speedily extricated by their practised intelligence from the confused mass of inconsistent grants in which they had been enveloped. [1677.] It was adjudged that municipal jurisdiction in New Hampshire was incapable of being validly conveyed by the Council of Plymouth, and therefore reverted to the crown in consequence of the dissolution of the Council, with reservation, however, of Mason's claims on the property of the soil, — a reservation which for many years rendered all property in New Hampshire insecure, and involved the inhabitants in continual inquietude, dispute, and litigation. As Gorges, in addition to his original grant from the Plymouth Council, had procured a royal patent for the province of Maine, the entire property, both seigniorial and territorial, of this province was adjudged to be vested in him. In consequence of this decision, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased ; but it was preserved in the province of Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had been for some time in treaty for the purchase of Maine, which he designed to unite with New Hampshire, and to bestow on his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth ; but, straitened for money, and expecting no competitor in the purchase, he deferred the completion of the contract. The government of Massachusetts,

¹ Hutchinson.

aware of this, and urgently solicited by the inhabitants of Maine to prevent their territories from being severed from its jurisdiction, proposed to Gorges an immediate purchase of his rights, which he readily consented to sell for twelve hundred pounds. This transaction gave much offence to the king, who peremptorily insisted that the authorities of Massachusetts should waive their title and relinquish the acquisition to him ; but they firmly declined to gratify him by such compliance, and maintained that their conduct needed no other justification than its conformity to the wishes of the people of Maine.

The inhabitants of New Hampshire were no less reluctant to be separated from Massachusetts ; but they were compelled to submit, and to receive a royal governor.¹ [1677.] One of the first acts of their legislature was to vote a grateful address to Massachusetts, acknowledging the former kindness of this colony, and protesting that only the commands of the king now interrupted a connection which it had been their anxious desire to preserve. The government thus forced upon them proved incapable of preserving tranquillity or commanding respect. The attempts that were made to enforce Mason's title to the property of the soil, and to render the inhabitants tributary to him for the possessions which they had purchased from others and improved by their own labor, excited violent ferments, and resulted in a train of vexatious, but indecisive, legal warfare.² Cranfield, the governor, after involving himself in controversies and altercations with the planters and their legislative assembly, in which he was continually foiled, transmitted an assurance to the British government, "that, while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found in those parts." He wreaked his vengeance upon some Non-conformist ministers, to whose eloquence he imputed the stiff, un-

¹ In the first commission that was issued for the government of this province, the king engaged to continue to the people their ancient privilege of an assembly, "unless, by inconvenience arising therefrom, he or his heirs should see cause to alter the same." — Belknap.

² The people were sometimes provoked to oppose what they termed *swamp law* to parchment law. An irregular judgment having been pronounced in favor of Mason, against some persons who refused to submit to it, the governor sent a party of sheriff's officers to serve a writ on them while they were in church. The congregation was incensed at this proceeding ; a young woman knocked down a sheriff's officer with her Bible ; and the conflict becoming general, the whole legal army was routed. It was found necessary to abandon the judgment. — Belknap.

bending spirit of the people, and whose general denunciations against vice he construed into personal reflections on himself and his favorites, by arbitrarily commanding them to administer the sacrament to him according to the liturgy of the church of England, and committing them to prison on receiving the refusal which he expected. His misgovernment at length provoked a few rash individuals, hastily and without concert, to revolt against his authority. The insurrection was suppressed without the slightest difficulty; and the insurgents, having been arraigned of high treason, were convicted and condemned to die. But Cranfield, conscious of the unpopularity of his government, had exercised an unfair and illegal control in the selection of the jury, which excited universal indignation; and afraid to carry his sentence into effect within the colony, he adopted the strange and unwarrantable proceeding of sending the prisoners to be executed in England. The English government actually sanctioned this irregularity, and were preparing to obey the sentence of a provincial magistrate, and to exhibit to the people of England the tragical issue of a trial, with the merits of which they were totally unacquainted, when a pardon was obtained for the unfortunate persons, by the solicitation of Cranfield himself, who, finding it impracticable to maintain order in the province, or to withstand the numerous complaints of his injustice and oppression, had solicited his own recall. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire spontaneously reverted to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and shared her fortunes till the period of the British Revolution.¹

Although the troubles of the *Popish Plot* began now to engage and perplex the mind of the king [1678], he was no longer to be diverted from his purpose of attempting the subjugation of Massachusetts; and though the concern of the Duke of Monmouth with that celebrated imposture, and the connections he formed with the profligate Shaftesbury and its other promoters or patrons, might diminish the king's regret for

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Belknap. These events, and the particular history of New Hampshire at this period, are related in considerable detail, with every appearance of accuracy, and with much spirit, good sense, and liberality, by Dr. Belknap. It is to this author's *History of New Hampshire* that I refer, wherever his *American Biography* (the very inappropriate title of a valuable work) is not expressly mentioned.

the privation of the appanage which he had meant to bestow on him, yet the presumptuous interference of Massachusetts to defeat this design inflamed his displeasure and fortified his tyrannical resolution. That additional pretexts might not be wanting to justify his measures, every complaint that could be collected against the colony was promoted and encouraged. The Quakers, who refused, during the Indian war, either to perform military service or to pay the fines imposed on defaulters, complained bitterly of the *persecution* they had incurred by the exaction of those fines, as well as of the law which obliged them to contribute to the maintenance of the provincial clergy. When the dangers of the Indian war were at their height, some of the colonists, interpreting the calamity as a judgment of Heaven upon the land for harbouring such heretics as the Quakers within its bosom, procured the re-enactment of an old law prohibiting assemblies for Quaker worship ; and though it does not appear that this law was executed, its promulgation was justly regarded as persecution, and alienated the regards of many persons who had hitherto been friends of the colony. The agents, deputed to defend the interests of Massachusetts in the controversies respecting New Hampshire and Maine, were detained to answer the complaints of the Quakers, — gravely preferred by these sectaries to a government which was itself administering with far greater rigor upon them the very policy which it now encouraged them to impute to one of its own provincial dependencies as the most scandalous cruelty and injustice.

Other and more serious imputations contributed to detain the agents and increase their perplexity. Randolph, who was distinguished by a stanch and sagacious activity in support of the views and interests of arbitrary power, and whom the people of New England described as “going up and down seeking whom he might devour,” had ably and diligently fulfilled his instructions to collect as much matter of complaint as he could obtain within the colony ; and loaded with the hatred of the people, which he cordially reciprocated, he now returned to England and opened his budget of arraignment and vituperation. The most just and most formidable of his charges was, that the Navigation Act was entirely disregarded, and a

free trade pursued by the colonists with all parts of the world. This was a charge which the provincial agents could neither deny nor extenuate ; and they anxiously pressed their constituents to put an end to the occasion of it. Any measures which the king might adopt, either for promoting the future efficacy of the Navigation Acts, or for punishing the past neglect which they had experienced, were the more likely to coincide with the sentiments of the English people, from the interest which a considerable portion of the mercantile class of their countrymen enjoyed in the monopoly which it was the object of those laws to secure. A petition was presented to the king and privy council by a number of English merchants and manufacturers, complaining of the disregard of the Navigation Acts in New England, and praying that they might hereafter be vigorously executed, for the sake of promoting the commerce of the parent state, as well as of preserving her dominion over her colonies. That a stronger impression might be made on the public mind, the petitioners were solemnly heard in presence of the privy council, and indulged with the amplest latitude of pleading in support of their commercial complaints and political views.

The General Court of Massachusetts [1679], alarmed by these measures, intimated, by letter to their agents, that “ they apprehended the Navigation Acts to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his Majesty in the colony ; — *they not being represented in parliament* ; and, according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England being bounded within the four seas, and not reaching to America.” They added, however, that, “ as his Majesty had signified his pleasure that those acts should be observed in Massachusetts, they had made provision, by a law of the colony, that they should be strictly attended to from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his Majesty’s plantation.” These expressions, and the recent provincial law to which they refer, demonstrate the peculiar views which were entertained by the people of Massachusetts of the connection that subsisted between themselves and the parent state. Their pretensions were the same with those which a few years after were advanced by the

people of Ireland ; — that, although dependent on the crown, and obliged to conform their jurisprudence, as far as possible, to the law of England, the statutes of the English parliament did not operate within their territory, till reënacted, or otherwise recognized, by their own domestic legislature. So fully did this notion possess the minds of the people of New England, and so obstinately did their interests resist the execution of the commercial regulations, that even the submissive province of Rhode Island, although, about this time, in imitation of Massachusetts, it took some steps towards a conformity with these regulations, never expressly recognized them till the year 1700, when its legislature *empowered* the governor “to put the Acts of Navigation in execution.”¹

The provincial agents, aware of the strong interests that prompted their countrymen still to overstep the boundaries of their regulated trade, furnished them with correct information of the threatening aspect of their affairs in England, and assured them that only an entire compliance with the Navigation Acts could shelter them from the impending storm of royal vengeance and tyranny. These honest representations produced the too frequent effect of unwelcome truths ; they diminished the popularity of the agents, and excited suspicions in Boston that they had not advocated the interests of the colony with sufficient zeal. The people were always too apt to suspect that their deputies in England were overawed by the pomp and infected with the subservience that prevailed at the royal court ; and they neglected to make due allowance for the different aspect which a dispute with England presented to men who beheld face to face her vast establishments and superior power, and to others who speculated on the probability of such dispute at the opposite extremity of the Atlantic Ocean. At last the agents obtained leave to return ; and though some impatience and ill-humor had been excited by their fidelity in the discharge of a disagreeable duty, the deliberate sentiments of their countrymen were so little perverted, that, when the king again intimated his desire of the reappointment of agents in England, the colonists twice again elected the same indi-

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

viduals to their former office, — which, however, these persons could never again be persuaded to undertake. They carried back with them to America a letter containing the requisitions of the king, of which the most material were, that the formula of the oath of allegiance should be rendered more explicit, and should be subscribed by every person holding an office of public trust in New England ; that all civil and military commissions should be issued in the king's name ; and all laws repugnant to the English commercial statutes abolished. The General Court, eagerly indulging the hope, that, by a compliance with these moderate demands, they could appease their sovereign and avert his displeasure, made haste to enact laws in conformity with his requisitions. They trusted that he had now abandoned the designs which they had been taught to apprehend ; and which, in reality, were merely suspended by the influence of the proceedings connected with the *Popish Plot*, and with the parliamentary bill that was in agitation for excluding the Duke of York from the throne.

Although the requisitions which the king transmitted by the hands of Stoughton and Bulkeley were obeyed, he continued to intimate, from time to time, his desire that new agents might be appointed to represent the colony in London ; but partly from the apprehensive jealousy with which the colonists regarded such a measure, and partly from the reluctance that prevailed among their political leaders to undertake so arduous and delicate an employment, the king's desires on this point were not complied with. The short interval of independence which the colonists were yet permitted to enjoy was very remote from a state of tranquillity. Randolph, who had commended himself to the king and his ministers by the adroit and active prosecution of their views, was appointed collector of the customs at Boston ; and a custom-house establishment, which some years before had been erected without opposition in Virginia and Maryland, was now extended to New England.¹ But it was in Massachusetts that this measure was intended to produce the

¹ As a measure, partly of terror, and partly of punishment, it was determined by the English privy council, about this time, "that no Mediterranean passes shall be granted to New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his Majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies." — Chalmers.

effects which it was easily foreseen would result from its own nature, as well as from the temper and unpopularity of the person who was appointed to conduct it. The Navigation Acts were evaded in Rhode Island, and openly contemned and violated in Connecticut ; yet these States were permitted to practise such irregularities without reprehension. It was less the execution of the commercial statutes themselves that the king desired, than the advantage which would accrue from an attempt to enforce them, after such long neglect, in the obnoxious province of Massachusetts. To this province he confined his attention, and justly considered that the issue of a contest with it would necessarily involve the fate of all the other settlements in New England. Randolph exercised his functions with the most offensive rigor, and very soon complained that the stubbornness of the people defeated all his efforts, and presented insuperable obstacles to the execution of the laws. Almost every suit that he instituted for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures issued in a judicial sentence against himself. He repaired to England in order to lay his complaints before his employers [1680], and returned invested with more extensive powers, in the exercise of which he was not more successful. He reproached the provincial authorities with injustice and partiality ; while they denied the charge, and taxed him with superfluous, unnecessary, and vexatious litigation.

The requisitions and remonstrances which the king continued to address to the General Court, from time to time, were answered by professions of loyalty and by partial compliances ; but on one point the colonists were determined, either entirely or as long as possible, to evade the royal will ; and though repeatedly directed, they still delayed, to send deputies to England. The General Court was at this time divided between two parties, who cordially agreed in the esteem and attachment by which they were wedded to their chartered privileges, but differed in opinion as to the extent to which it was expedient to contend for them. Bradstreet, the governor, at the head of the moderate party, promoted every compliance with the will of the parent state short of a total surrender of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Massachusetts. Danforth, the deputy-governor, at the head of another party,

obstructed the appointment of deputies, and opposed all submission to the acts of trade ; maintaining that the colonists should adhere to the strict construction of their charter, resist every abridgment of it as a dangerous precedent no less than an injurious aggression, and, standing firm in defence of their utmost right, commit the event to Divine Providence. These parties conducted their debates with warmth, but without acrimony ; and as the sentiments of one or other alternately prevailed, a greater or lesser degree of compliance with the demands of the king was infused into the undecided policy of the General Court.¹

The scene of trouble and misfortune in which the inhabitants of this quarter of America had for a series of years been involved could not fail to produce a grave and earnest impression on the minds of men habituated to regard all the events of life in a religious aspect, and contributed to revive among the descendants of the original planters the piety for which New England was at first so highly distinguished. A short time before the commencement of their late distresses, a natural phenomenon² that excited much awe and tribulation at the time, and was long pondered with earnest and solemn remembrance, was visible for several nights successively in the heavens. It was a bright meteor in the form of a spear, of which the point was directed towards the setting sun, — and which, with slow, majestic motion, descended through the upper regions of the air, and gradually disappeared beneath the horizon. This splendid phenomenon produced a deep and general impression on the minds of the people ; and the magistrates, without expressly alluding to it, acknowledged and endeavoured to improve its influence by seizing the opportunity to promote a general reformation of manners. Circular letters were transmitted to all the clergy, urging them to increased diligence in exemplifying and inculcating the precepts of religion, especially on the young, and instructing their parishioners from house to

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. From a report presented this year (1680) to the Lords of Trade, it appears that Connecticut then contained twenty-one churches, each of which had its minister ; a militia of twenty-five hundred men ; a very few indented servants, and thirty slaves. Holmes.

² In the *Journal* of John Evelyn there are descriptions of the occurrence of similar phenomena in England, in the years 1643 and 1680.

house. The dupes of science, falsely so called, may deride these impressions, and ascribe to ignorant wonder the piety which they enkindled ; but enlightened philosophy will confess the worth and dignity of that principle which recognizes in every display of the great phenomena of nature an additional call to worship and glorify its Almighty Creator, and which elevates and refines human faculties by placing every object that forcibly strikes them in a noble and graceful light derived from connection with the interests of morality and the honor of God. The events of the Indian war, the agricultural losses that were occasioned by the peculiar inclemency of the ensuing season, and, latterly, the disquiet excited by the contentions with the English government, served, in like manner, to humble the people beneath the hand of that Sovereign Power which controls the passions of men as well as the elements of nature ; and were equally productive of increased diligence in the cultivation of piety and the reformation of manners.

Deeply lamenting the moral imperfections and deficiencies which they experienced in themselves and remarked in those around them, many of the ministers, magistrates, and principal inhabitants of Massachusetts and Connecticut urgently besought their countrymen to consider if the interruption of divine favor did not betoken disregard of the divine will ; and by precept and example labored to eradicate every evil habit or licentious practice that a state of war and an influx of commercial wealth were supposed to have produced or promoted. Men were strongly exhorted to carry a continual respect to the divine will into the minutest ramifications of their affairs, and to refine and sanctify whatever they did by *doing it to the Lord*. The General Court published a catalogue of the epide-mical vices of the times, in which we find enumerated, neglect of the education of children, pride displayed in the manner of cutting and curling hair, excess of finery, immodesty of apparel, negligent carriage at church, failure in due respect to parents, a sordid eagerness of shopkeepers to obtain high prices, profane swearing, idleness, and frequenting of taverns. Grand juries were directed to *present* (that is to signalize for trial and punishment) all offenders in these respects ; but either the happier influence of example and remonstrance was sufficient

to control the obnoxious practices, or they never attained such extent of prevalence as to justify the infliction of legal severities.¹ In many instances, the scrupulous piety of the provincial magistrates has reprobated existing vices, and the extent to which they prevailed, in language which is apt to beget misapprehension, if it be interpreted in conformity with the general notions and tone of the world; and, hence, a writer no less acute than Chalmers has fallen into the gross mistake of deriving a charge of extraordinary immorality against the inhabitants of Massachusetts from the very circumstances that prove the strength of their piety, the purity of their moral habits, and the still higher purity of their moral aspirations. The strong sense that religious impressions awaken of the depraved propensities inherent in human nature causes the expression of the moral sentiments of truly religious men to appear to the world at large as the ravings of hypocritical cant or fanatical delusion.²

The king had never lost sight of his purpose of remodelling the constitution of Massachusetts; although some appearance of moderation had been latterly enforced upon him by the more personal and pressing concern of resisting the attempts of Shaftesbury to reëxemplify the deep and daring policy of the Duke of Guise, and control his sovereign by the formation and supremacy of a Protestant league in England. While Shaftesbury and his party were able to retain their influence on the public mind by the artifice of the *Popish Plot*, and to attack the monarchy by the device of the exclusion bill, it was probably deemed unsafe to signalize the royal administration by any public act of extraordinary tyranny in a province so

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Trumbull.

² After this manner the New England ministers were accustomed to address their hearers. "It concerneth New England always to remember that they are originally a plantation religious, not a plantation of trade. Let merchants, and such as are increasing *cent. per cent.*, remember this, that worldly gain was not the end and design of the people of New England, but religion. And if any man among us make religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, such an one hath not the spirit of a true New-Englandman." Higginson's *Election Sermon*, 1663, *apud* Belknap. Robert Keayne, a colonist of great wealth, piety, talent, and consideration in Massachusetts, and a liberal benefactor of the colony, having on one occasion become obnoxious on account of the "corrupt practice" of selling dearer than most traders, "was, for this offence, after solemn trial, fined two hundred pounds by the General Court, publicly admonished by the church, and hardly escaped excommunication." Quincy's *History of Harvard University*.

distinguished for zeal in the Protestant cause as Massachusetts. But Charles had now obtained a complete victory over his domestic adversaries [1681]; and, among other excesses of retaliatory violence and arbitrary power by which he hastened to improve his success, he instituted writs of *quo warranto* against the principal corporations in England, and easily obtained judgments from the courts of law that declared all their liberties and franchises forfeited to the crown. About two years before this period, he deliberated on the possibility of superseding entirely the constitution of Massachusetts without the intermediate recourse of any legal solemnity; but, on consulting Jones and Winnington, the attorney and solicitor general, he learned that his object could not be securely or effectually attained except by the instrumentality of a writ of *quo warranto*, which at that time it was not deemed expedient to employ. But now every impediment to the gratification of his wishes was removed; and the colonists received such intelligence from their friends in England as permitted them no longer to doubt that the abrogation of their charter was finally resolved on and was to be instantly attempted. Randolph, who made numerous voyages between England and America, and had lately affixed a protest on the exchange of Boston against the legitimacy of the provincial government and its official acts, now brought from London a letter from the king, dated the 26th of October, 1681, recapitulating all the complaints against the colony, and commanding that deputies should instantly be sent to him, not only to answer these complaints, but “with powers to submit to such regulations of government as his Majesty should think fit”; which if the colonists failed to do, it was intimated that a writ of *quo warranto* would be directed against their charter.

A new criminatory charge, suggested by the inquisitive hostility of Randolph, was at the same time preferred against them,—that they coined money within the province, in contempt of the king’s prerogative. The General Court, in answer to this sudden arraignment of a practice which had been permitted so long to prevail without objection, explained in what manner and at what time it originated, and appealed to these circumstances as decisively proving that no contempt of

royal authority had been designed ; but withal declared, that, if it were regarded as a trespass on his Majesty's prerogative, they humbly entreated pardon for the offence, and indulgence for the ignorance under which it was committed. Among the other complaints that were urged by the king, were the presumptuous purchase of the province of Maine, which the colonists were again commanded to surrender, and the disallowance of religious worship except on the model of the Congregational churches within the colony. To the first of these they answered by repeating their former apology, and still declining what was required of them ; and to the second, that liberty of worship was now granted to all denominations of Christians in Massachusetts. The royal letter contained many other charges ; but they were all answered by solemn protestations that either the commands they imported were already fulfilled, or the disobedience they imputed had not been committed. An assembly of the General Court having been held for the purpose of electing deputies to represent the province in England, and Stoughton again declining to accept this office, it was conferred on Dudley and Richards, two of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens of Massachusetts. But as the plenary powers which the royal letter required that they should be invested with, of acceding to whatever regulations of government the king might think fit to propose, were nothing else than powers to surrender all the rights of their countrymen, the Court was careful to grant no such authority, and, on the contrary, plainly expressed in their instructions that the deputies were not to do or consent to any thing that should infringe the liberties bestowed by the charter, or infer the slightest alteration of the existing form of government.

The deputies set sail for England, whither they were soon followed by Randolph, eager to confront them and counteract their exertions.¹ A public fast was appointed to be observed

¹ To such a degree had Randolph excited the jealousy and abhorrence of the colonists, that a great fire happening on one occasion to break out in Boston, soon after his arrival in the city, he was generally believed by the populace to have been the author of it (Hutchinson) ; and so conscious was he of the provocation he had given to popular vengeance, that he expressed his apprehensions to the British ministers, that the people of Massachusetts would account him guilty of treason, and punish him with death, for attempting to subvert their political constitution. Holmes.

throughout the province ; and prayers were addressed to Heaven for the preservation of the charter and the success of the deputation. Means less pure, though certainly not unjustifiable, were adopted, or at least sanctioned, by the provincial council or board of assistants, for promoting at the English court the wishes and interests of their countrymen. Cranfield, the late royal governor of New Hampshire, happening to visit Boston at this juncture, suggested to those authorities that the provincial deputies should be directed to wait on Lord Hyde, and tender the sum of two thousand guineas for the private service of the king, which he assured them, from the notorious poverty and venality of the court, would infallibly procure a suspension of all hostile proceedings. Novices in craft, they fell headlong into the snare, and addressed letters to this effect to the deputies, while Cranfield despatched letters at the same time to the king, which he represented to them as containing the strongest recommendations of their cause to royal favor. But though these men were willing, in a cause where no interests except their own were involved, to sacrifice their money for their liberty, and to buy their country out of the hands of a sordid and dissolute tyrant, — it was not the will of Providence that the liberties of Massachusetts should be bartered for gold, or that devotional prayers associated with such unholy exertions should prevail. Letters soon arrived from the deputies, informing their constituents that Cranfield had written a ludicrous account of the affair to the king, and vaunted his dexterity in outwitting the people of Boston, whom he described as a crew of seditious miscreants and rebels ; and that the publication of the story had exposed them to the derision of the royal court.¹

The American deputies found their sovereign intoxicated with the triumph of his victorious prerogative, impatient of all farther vacation of his revenge, and incensed to the highest degree against a province that had so long presumed to withstand his will. Their credentials, which were exhibited to Sir Lionel Jenkins, the secretary of state, were at once declared to be insufficient ; and they were informed, that, unless

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

a commission more ample and satisfactory were immediately produced, it was his Majesty's pleasure that a writ of *quo warranto* against their country's charter should issue without delay. The deputies communicated this peremptory injunction to their constituents ; assuring them, at the same time, that the predicament of the colony was desperate ; and leaving them to determine whether it was most advisable to submit themselves unreservedly to his Majesty's pleasure, or to abide the issue of a process which would certainly be fatal. This important question, the determination of which was to be the last exercise of their highly prized liberty, was solemnly debated, both in the General Court, and, as was meet, by the inhabitants of the province at large ; and the prevailing sentiment was declared to be, " that it was better to die by other hands than by their own." [1683.¹] An earnest address to the king was framed by the General Court ; a corresponding one was signed by the inhabitants at large ; and the agents were directed to present or suppress these addresses according to their own discretion. They were likewise authorized to resign the title-deeds of the province of Maine, if, by so doing, they could preserve the charter of Massachusetts ; and they were, finally, assured of the irrevocable determination of their constituents to adhere to the charter, and never to show themselves unworthy of liberty by making a voluntary surrender of it. The communication of this magnanimous answer put an end to the functions of the deputies ; and a writ of *quo warranto* having been issued forthwith against the colony, they desired leave to retire from the scene of this procedure, and were permitted to return to Boston.

They were instantly followed by Randolph, who had presented to the Committee of Plantations a catalogue of crimes and misdemeanours which he imputed to the provincial government, and was now selected to carry the fatal writ across the Atlantic. The communication was highly agreeable to the

¹ This year, died Roger Williams, founder of the settlement of Providence, and one of the founders of the State of Rhode Island ; his admirable piety and philanthropy and singularly virtuous and useful life have been strikingly illustrated in the third volume of the *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, — a composition of very great merit, but defaced by a strain of hostile prejudice against the early colonists of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

messenger who conveyed it; and Randolph performed [October, 1683] his part with an ostent of triumphant satisfaction that added insult to injury, and increased the detestation with which he was universally regarded. The king, at the same time, made a last endeavour to induce the colonists to spare him the tedious formalities of legal process. He declared, that, if before judgment they would unreservedly submit and resign themselves to his pleasure, he would study their interest as well as his own in composing the new charter, and make no farther innovation on the original constitution of the province than should be necessary for the due support of his authority. To add weight to this suggestion, the colonists were apprized, that all the corporations in England, except the city of London, had surrendered their privileges to the king; and abstracts of the legal proceedings which had proved fatal to the charter of London were circulated through the province, — that all might learn the hopelessness of a contest with royal authority. But the people of Massachusetts were not to be moved from their purpose by the threats of despotic power or the example of general servility. They had acted well, and had now to suffer well; and disdainfully refused to diminish the infamy of their oppressor by sharing it with him. A majority of the council, dejected and overwhelmed by their calamities, voted an address of submission to the king; but, with more erect spirit, the house of delegates, imbued with the general feeling of the people, and supported by the approbation of the clergy, rejected the address, and adhered to their former resolutions. [1683.] The process of *quo warranto* was in consequence urged forward with all the expedition that was compatible with forensic formality. Among other instances of tyrannical contempt of justice, the summons which required the colony to defend itself was transmitted so tardily, that, before compliance with it was possible, the space assigned for such compliance had elapsed. In Trinity Term of the following year [1684], judgment was pronounced by the English Court of King's Bench against the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, "that their letters patent and the enrolment thereof be cancelled"; and in the year after, an official copy of this judg-

ment was received by the secretary of the General Court. [2d July, 1685.]¹

Thus was the system of liberty that flourished for sixty years in Massachusetts overthrown by the descendant of the princes whose tyranny had led to its establishment, after being defended by the children of the original settlers with the same hardy and generous virtue that their fathers had exerted in founding and rearing it. The venerable Bradstreet, who accompanied the first emigrants to Massachusetts in 1630, was still alive, and was governor of the colony at the period of the subversion of those institutions which he had contributed to plant in the desert, and had so long continued to adorn and enjoy. Perhaps he now discerned the vanity of those sentiments that had prompted so many of the coevals whom he survived to lament their deaths as premature. But the aged eyes that beheld this eclipse of New England's prosperity were not yet to close till they had seen the return of better days.

That the measures of the king were in the highest degree unjust and tyrannical appears manifest beyond all decent denial; and that the legal adjudication by which he masked his tyranny was never annulled by the English parliament is a circumstance very little creditable to English justice. The House of Commons, indeed, shortly after the Revolution, inflamed with indignation at the first recital of the transactions which we have now witnessed, voted a resolve declaring "that those *quo warrantos* against the charters of New England were illegal and void"; and followed up this resolve by a bill for restoring the charter of Massachusetts. But the progress of the bill was arrested in the House of Lords by a sudden prorogation of parliament; and the Commons were afterwards prevailed with to depart from their purpose by the arguments of Treby, Somers, and Holt,² whose eminent faculties and liberal principles could not exempt them from the influence of a superstitious prejudice, generated by their professional habits, in favor of the sacredness of legal formalities.

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

² Ibid.

CHAPTER V.

Designs — and Death of Charles the Second. — Government of Massachusetts under a temporary Commission from James the Second. — Andros appointed Governor of New England. — Submission of Rhode Island. — Effort to preserve the Charter of Connecticut. — Oppressive Government of Andros. — Colonial Policy of the King. — Sir William Phips. — Indian Hostilities renewed by the Intrigues of the French. — Insurrection at Boston. — Andros deposed — and the ancient Government restored. — Connecticut and Rhode Island resume their Charters. — William and Mary proclaimed. — War with the French and Indians. — Sir William Phips conquers Acadia. Ineffectual Expedition against Quebec. — Impeachment of Andros by the Colony discouraged by the English Ministers — and dismissed. — The King refuses to restore the ancient Constitution of Massachusetts. — Tenor of the new Charter. — Sir William Phips Governor. — The New England Witchcraft. — Death of Phips. — War with the French and Indians. — Loss of Acadia. — Peace of Ryswick. — Moral and Political State of New England.

So eager was Charles to complete the execution of his long cherished designs on Massachusetts, that, in November, 1684, immediately after the judgment of the Court of King's Bench against its charter was pronounced, he began to make arrangements for the new government of the colony. Though not even a complaint was pretended against New Plymouth, he scrupled not to involve this settlement in the same fate ; and as if he purposed to consummate his tyranny and vengeance by a measure that should surpass the darkest anticipations entertained in New England, he selected as the delegate of his prerogative a man, than whom it would be difficult, in all the records of human wickedness and oppression, to find one who has excited to a greater degree the abhorrence and indignation of his fellow-creatures. The notorious Colonel Kirke, whose ferocious and detestable cruelty has secured him an immortality of infamy in the history of England, was appointed governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth ; and it was determined that no representative assembly of the

colonists should be permitted to exist, but that all the functions of municipal authority should be vested in the governor and a council appointed during the royal pleasure. This arbitrary policy was approved by all the ministers of Charles, except the Marquis of Halifax, who espoused the cause of the colonists with generous zeal, and warmly, but vainly, urged that they were entitled to enjoy the same laws and institutions that prevailed in the parent state.¹ Though Kirke had not yet committed the enormities by which he was destined to illustrate his name in the West of England, he had already given such indications of his disposition, in the government of Tangier, that the tidings of his appointment filled the inhabitants of the colony with horror and dismay. But before the royal commission and instructions to this ruffian were completed, the career of the monarch himself was interrupted by death; and Kirke was reserved to contribute by his sanguinary violence in England to bring hatred and exile on Charles's successor. This successor, James the Second, from whose stern, inflexible temper and lofty ideas of royal prerogative the most gloomy presages of tyranny were derived, was proclaimed in Boston with melancholy solemnity. [April, 1685.]²

These presages were verified by the conduct of the new sovereign. Soon after his accession to the throne, he appointed, by special commission, a provisional government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth, to be administered by a president and council selected from the inhabitants of Massachusetts, whose functions were merely executive, and were to endure till the establishment of a fixed and permanent system. The functionaries thus appointed were directed to concede liberty of conscience to all persons, but to bestow peculiar encouragement on the votaries of the church of England; to determine all suits originating within the colony, but to admit appeals from their sentences to the king;

¹ The French court and the Duke of York remonstrated with Charles on the impolicy of retaining in office a man who professed such sentiments. Barillon's *Correspondence* in the Appendix to Fox's *History of James the Second*. "Even at this early period," says Mr. Fox, "a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly or adverse to arbitrary power at home."

² Hutchinson. Chalmers.

and to defray the expenses of their government by levying the taxes previously imposed. This commission was appointed to be produced before the General Court at Boston, not as still considered a body administering legal authority, but as a convocation of individuals of the greatest influence and consideration in the province. In answer to the communication of its contents, the Court voted [May, 1686] a unanimous resolution, in which they protested that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were deprived of the rights of freemen by the system of government which had been announced to them, and that it deeply concerned both those who introduced and those who were subjected to the operation of this system to reflect how far it was safe to pursue it. For themselves, they declared, that, if the newly appointed officers should think proper to exercise their functions, though they could never regard them as invested with constitutional power, they would demean themselves, notwithstanding, as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their prince, for relief.

The president named in the commission was Dudley, who had previously been one of the deputies of the province to England, and whose conduct justified, in some degree, the jealousy with which the colonists ever regarded the persons to whom they were constrained to intrust that important office. The patriotic virtue of this man, without being utterly dissolved, was relaxed by the beams of regal splendor ; and he had not been able to look on the pomp and show of aristocratical institutions with philosophic composure or undesiring eyes. Despairing of his ability at once to serve and gratify his country, he applied himself with more success to cultivate his own interest at the English court ; and in pursuing this crooked policy, he seems to have flattered himself with the hope that the interest of his fellow-citizens might be more effectually promoted by his own advancement to official preëminence among them, than by the exclusion which he would incur, in common with themselves, by a stricter adherence to the line of integrity. Though he accepted the commission, and persuaded the other persons who were associated with him to imitate his example, he continued to demonstrate a friendly regard to the rights of

the people, and to the municipal institutions which they so highly valued. Not only was immediate change in the provincial magistracy avoided, but the commissioners, in deference to the public feeling, transmitted a memorial to the English court, affirming that a well regulated assembly of the representatives of the people was urgently necessary, and ought in their opinion to be established without delay. This moderate conduct, however, gave little satisfaction to any of the parties whom they desired to please. The people were indignant to behold a system which was erected on the ruins of their liberty administered by their own fellow-citizens, and above all by the man whom they had lately appointed to resist its introduction among them ; and nothing but the apprehension of seeing him replaced by Kirke, whose massacres in England seemed gloomily to foretell the treatment of America, prevented an open expression of their displeasure. The conduct of the commissioners was no less unsatisfactory both to the abettors of arbitrary government in England, and to the creatures and associates of Randolph within the province, who were eager to pay court to the king by prostrating beneath his power every obstacle to the execution of his will. Complaints were soon transmitted by these persons to the English ministers, charging the commissioners with conniving at wonted practices by which the trade laws were evaded, countenancing ancient principles of civil and ecclesiastical policy, and evincing, in general, but a lukewarm affection to the king's service.¹

In addition to these causes of dissatisfaction with the commissioners, the king was incited to proceed to the completion of his plans by the imperfection of the temporary arrangement to which he had resorted. It was found that the provincial acts of taxation were ready to expire ; and the commissioners, being devoid of legislative authority, had no power to renew them. They employed this consideration to support their suggestion of a representative assembly ; but it determined the king to enlarge the arbitrary authority of his provincial officers, and at the same time to establish a permanent administration for New England. He consulted the crown lawyers, and

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

in particular Sir William Jones, the attorney-general, respecting the extent of his powers ; and they pronounced, as their official opinion, “ that, notwithstanding the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts, its inhabitants continued English subjects, invested with English liberties, and consequently that the king could no more grant a commission to levy money on them, without their consent in an assembly, than they could discharge themselves from their allegiance ” ; a truth, of which the discovery implies no extraordinary legal knowledge or acuteness, but of which this open declaration bespeaks more honesty than we might have expected from persons selected by the monarch from a society of lawyers, which, in that age, could supply such instruments as Jeffries and Scroggs. We must recollect, however, that lawyers, though professionally partial to the authority which nominally and theoretically constitutes the source and mainspring of the system which they administer, cherish also, in their strong predilection for those forms and precedents that practically constitute their own influence and the peculiar mystery of their science, a principle that frequently protects liberty and befriends substantial justice.

But James was too much enamoured of arbitrary power to be deterred from the indulgence of it by any obstacle inferior to invincible necessity ; and accordingly, without paying the slightest regard to an opinion supported only by the pens of lawyers, he determined to establish a complete tyranny in New England, by combining the whole legislative and executive authority in the persons of a governor and council to be named by himself. Kirke had been found too useful, as an instrument of terror in England, to be spared to America. But Sir Edmund Andros, who had signalized his devotion to arbitrary power in the government of New York, was now appointed captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, and certain dependent territories, during the pleasure of the king. He was empowered, with consent of a board of counsellors, to make ordinances for the colonies, not inconsistent with the laws of England, and which were to be submitted to the king for his approbation or dissent, and to impose taxes for the support of government. He was directed to govern the people in conformity with the tenor of

his commission, of a separate letter of instructions with which he was at the same time furnished, and of the laws which were then in force or might be afterwards enacted. The governor and council were also constituted a court of record ; and from their decisions an appeal was competent to the king. The greater part of the instructions that were communicated to Andros are of a nature that would do honor to the patriotism of the king, if the praise of this virtue were due to a barren desire to promote the welfare of his people, accompanied with the most effectual exertions to strip them of every security by which their welfare might be guarded.

Andros was directed to promote no persons to offices of trust, but colonists of fair character and competent estate, and to displace none without *sufficient cause* ; to respect and administer the existing laws of the country, in so far as they were not inconsistent with his commission or instructions ; to dispose of the crown lands at moderate quitrents ; “ to take away or to harm no man’s life, member, freehold, or goods, but by established laws of the country, not repugnant to those of the realm ” ; to discipline and arm the inhabitants for the defence of the country, but not to obstruct their attention to their own private business and necessary affairs ; to encourage freedom of commerce by restraining engrossers ; to check the excessive severity of masters to their servants, and to punish with death the slayers of Indians or negroes ; *to allow no printing-press to exist* ; and to grant universal toleration in religion, but special encouragement to the church of England. Except the restraint of printing (which, though enjoined, appears not to have been carried into effect), there is not one of these instructions that expresses a spirit of despotism ; and yet the whole system was silently pervaded by that spirit ; for as there were no securities provided for the accomplishment of the king’s benevolent directions, so there were no checks established to restrain the abuse of the powers with which the governor was intrusted. The king was willing that his subjects should be happy, but not that they should be free, or entitled to pursue a scheme of happiness independent of his instruction and control ; and this conjunction of a desire to promote human welfare, with an aversion to the means most likely to

secure it, suggests the explanation, perhaps the apology, of an error to which despotic sovereigns are inveterately liable. Trained in habits of indulgence of their own will, and in sentiments of respect for its force and efficacy, they learn to consider it as what not only ought to be, but must be, irresistible ; and feel no less secure of ability to make men happy without their own coöperation, than of the right to balk the natural desire of mankind to be the providers and guardians of their proper welfare. The possession of absolute power renders self-denial the highest effort of virtue ; and the absolute monarch, who should demonstrate a just regard to the rights of his fellow-creatures, would deserve to be honored as one of the most magnanimous of human beings. Furnished with the instructions which we have seen for the mitigation of his arbitrary power, and attended by a few companies of soldiers for its support, Andros arrived in Boston [December, 1685] ; and presenting himself as the substitute for the dreaded and detested Kirke, and commencing his administration with many gracious expressions of good-will, he was received more favorably than might have been expected. But his popularity was short-lived. Instead of conforming to his *instructions*, he copied and even exceeded the arbitrary behaviour of his master in England, and committed the most tyrannical violence and oppressive exactions.¹ Dudley, the late president, and several of his colleagues, were associated as counsellors of the new administration, — which was thus loaded, in the beginning of its career, with the weight of their unpopularity, and in the end involved them in deeper odium and disgrace.

It was the purpose of James to consolidate the force of all the British colonies in one general government ; and Rhode Island and Connecticut were now to experience that their destiny was involved in that of Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Rhode Island, on learning the accession of the king, instantly transmitted an address congratulating him on his elevation, acknowledging themselves his loyal subjects, and begging his protection of their chartered rights. Yet the humility of their supplications could not protect them from the conse-

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

quences of the plans he had embraced for the general government of New England. Articles of high misdemeanour were exhibited against them before the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, charging them with breaches of their charter, and with opposition to the Acts of Navigation; and before the close of the year 1685, they received notice of the institution of a process of *quo warranto* against their patent. Without hesitation, they protested that they would not contend with their sovereign, and passed an act, in full assembly, formally surrendering their provincial charter and all the powers it conferred. By a fresh address they "humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his Majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." This abject language emboldened, without conciliating, the king; who, accounting legal solemnities a superfluous ceremony with persons so obsequious to his will, proceeded, without farther delay, to impose the yoke which the people sought to evade by deserving it. But his eagerness to accomplish his object with rapidity, though it probably inflicted a salutary disappointment on this people at the time, proved ultimately beneficial to their political interests by preserving their charter from a legal extinction; and this benefit, which a similar improvidence afforded to the people of Connecticut, was ascertained at the era of the British Revolution. In consequence of the last address from Rhode Island, Andros was charged to extend his administration to this province; and in the same month that witnessed his arrival at Boston he visited Rhode Island, where he dissolved the provincial corporation, broke its seal, and, admitting five of the inhabitants into his legislative council, assumed the exercise of all the functions of government.¹

Connecticut had also transmitted an address to the king on his accession, and vainly solicited the preservation of her privileges. When the articles of misdemeanour were exhibited against Rhode Island, a measure of similar import was employed against the governor and assembly of Connecticut, who were reproached with framing laws contrary in tenor to those

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

of England ; of extorting unreasonable fines ; of administering an oath of fidelity to their own corporation, in contradistinction to the oath of allegiance ; of intolerance in ecclesiastical polity ; and of denial of justice. These charges, which were supposed to infer a forfeiture of the charter, were remitted to Sawyer, the attorney-general, with directions to expedite a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony. The writ was issued, and Randolph, the general enemy of American liberty and officious partisan of arbitrary power, offered his services in conveying it across the Atlantic. The governor and the assembly of Connecticut had for some time remarked the storm approaching, and, knowing that direct resistance was vain, they endeavoured, by address, to elude what they were unable to repel. After delaying, as long as possible, to make any signification of their intentions, they were convinced, by the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston, and his conduct in Rhode Island, that the designs of the king were to be vigorously pursued, and that they could not hope to be indulged with farther space for deliberation. They wrote, accordingly, to the secretary of state, expressing a strong desire to retain their present constitution ; but requesting, if it were the irrevocable purpose of their sovereign to dispose otherwise of them, that they might be incorporated with Massachusetts, and share the fortunes of a people with whom they had always maintained a friendly correspondence, and whose principles and manners they understood and approved. This was hastily construed by the British government into a surrender of the provincial constitution ; and Andros was commanded to annex this province, also, to his jurisdiction.

Randolph, who seems to have been qualified not less by genius than inclination to promote the success of tyrannical designs, advised the English ministers to prosecute the *quo warranto* to a judicial issue ; assuring them that the government of Connecticut would never consent to do, nor acknowledge that they had actually done, what was equivalent to an express surrender of the rights of the people. It was matter of regret to the ministers and crown lawyers of a later age, that this politic suggestion was not adopted. But the king was too

eager to snatch the boon that seemed within his reach, to wait the tedious formalities of the law ; and no farther judicial proceedings ensued on the *quo warranto*. In conformity with his orders, Andros marched at the head of a body of troops to Hartford [October, 1687], the seat of the provincial government, where he demanded that the charter should be delivered into his hands. The people were extremely desirous to preserve at least the document of rights, which the return of better times might enable them to assert with advantage. The charter was laid on the table of the assembly, and some of the principal inhabitants of the colony addressed Andros at considerable length, recounting the exertions that had been made, and the hardships that had been incurred, in order to found the institutions which he was come to destroy ; entreating him yet to spare them, or at least to leave the people in possession of the patent, as a testimonial of the favor and happiness they had hitherto enjoyed. The debate was earnest, but orderly, and protracted to a late hour in the evening. As the day declined, lights were introduced into the hall, which was gradually surrounded by a numerous concourse of the bravest and most determined men in the province, prepared to defend their representatives against the apprehended violence of Andros and his armed followers. At length, their arguments proving quite ineffectual, a measure, supposed to have been previously concerted by the inhabitants, was coolly, resolutely, and successfully conducted. The lights were extinguished, as if by accident ; and Captain Wadsworth, laying hold of the charter, disappeared with it before they could be rekindled. He conveyed it securely through the crowd, — who opened to let him pass, and closed their ranks as he proceeded, — and deposited it in the hollow of an ancient oak, which retained the precious deposit till the era of the British Revolution, and was long regarded with veneration by the people, as the memorial and associate of a transaction so interesting to their liberties. Andros, disappointed in all his efforts to recover the charter, or ascertain the person by whom it was secreted, contented himself with declaring that its institutions were dissolved ; and assuming to himself the exercise of supreme au-

thority, he created two of the principal inhabitants members of his legislative council.¹

Having thus united all the New England States under one comprehensive system of arbitrary government, Andros, with the assistance of his grand legislative council, selected from the inhabitants of the several provinces, addressed himself to the task of composing laws and regulations calculated to fortify his authority. An act restoring the former taxes obtained the assent of the council; and yet even this indispensable provision was obstructed by the reluctance with which the counsellors, though selected by Andros himself, consented to become the instruments of riveting the shackles of their country. The only farther opposition which he experienced proceeded from the inhabitants of the county of Essex, in Massachusetts, who, insisting that they were freemen, refused to pay the contingent assessed upon them of a taxation which they deemed unconstitutional. But their resistance was easily overpowered, and their leaders were severely punished. Andros soon discovered that the revenues of the ancient government were inadequate to the support of his more costly administration; and while he signified this defalcation to the king, he declared, at the same time, with real or affected humanity, that the country was so much impoverished by the effects of the Indian war, by recent losses at sea, and by scanty harvests, that an increase of taxation could hardly be endured. But James, who had exhausted his lenity in the letter of instructions, answered this communication by a peremptory mandate to raise the taxes to a level with the charges of administration; and Andros, thereupon, either stifling his tenderness for the people, or discarding his superfluous respect to the moderation of the king, proceeded to exercise his power with a tyrannical rigor that rendered his government universally odious.

The weight of taxation was oppressively augmented, and the fees of all public functionaries screwed up to an enormous height. The ceremonial of marriage was altered, and the celebration of that rite, which had been hitherto committed to the civil magistrates, was confined to the ministers of the

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Dwight's *Travels*. Trumbull.

church of England, of whom there was only one in the province of Massachusetts. The fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the Congregational churches were arbitrarily suppressed by the governor, who maintained that the regulation of such matters belonged entirely to the civil power. He took occasion repeatedly, and with the most offensive insolence, to remark, in presence of the council, that the colonists would find themselves mistaken, if they supposed that the privileges of Englishmen followed them to the extremity of the earth; and that the only difference between their condition and that of slaves was, that they were neither bought nor sold. It was declared unlawful for the colonists to assemble in public meetings, or for any one to quit the province without a passport from the governor; and Randolph, now at the summit of his wishes, was not ashamed to boast in letters to his friends that the rulers of New England were "as arbitrary as the Great Turk." While Andros mocked the people with the semblance of trial by jury, he contrived, by intrigue and partiality in the selection of jurymen, to wreak his vengeance on every person who offended him, as well as to screen the misdeeds of his own dependents from the punishment they deserved. And, as if to heighten the discontent excited by such tyrannical insolence, he took occasion to question the validity of the existing titles to landed property, pretending that the rights acquired under the sanction of the ancient government were tainted with its vices and obnoxious to its fate.¹ New grants or patents from the governor, it was announced, were requisite to mend the defective titles to land; and writs of intrusion were issued against all who refused to apply for such patents, and to pay the large fees that were charged for them. Most of the landed proprietors were compelled to submit to this extortion in order to save their estates from confiscation,—an extremity, which, however, was braved by one individual, Colonel Shrimpton, who preferred the loss of his property to the recognition of a principle which he deemed both injurious and dishonorable to his country. The king had now encouraged Andros to con-

¹ The titles of many of the proprietors of estates in New England depended upon conveyances executed by the Indians; but Andros declared that Indian deeds were no better than "the scratch of a bear's paw."—Belknap.

sider the people whom he governed as a society of felons or rebels ; for he transmitted to him express directions to grant his Majesty's most gracious *pardon* to as many of the colonists as should apply for it. But none had the meanness to solicit a grace that exclusively befitted the guilty. The only act of the king that was favorably regarded by the inhabitants of the colony was his *Declaration of Indulgence*, which excited so much discontent in Britain, even among the Protestant dissenters who shared its benefit. Notwithstanding the intolerance that has been imputed to New England, this declaration produced general satisfaction there ; though some of the inhabitants had discernment enough to perceive that the sole object of the king was the gradual introduction of the Catholic church into Britain.¹

After many ineffectual remonstrances against his violence and injustice had been addressed by the colonists to Andros himself, two deputies, one of whom was Increase Mather, the most eminent theologian and most popular minister in Massachusetts, were sent to England, to submit the grievances of the colony to the humane consideration of the king. [April, 1688.] Randolph, whose subservience to the royal policy was rewarded with the offices of postmaster-general and licenser of the press in New England, exerted himself to defeat the success of the deputation, by writing to the English court that Mather was a seditious and profligate incendiary, and that his object was to pave the way to the overthrow of regal government. Yet the petitions which the colonists transmitted by Mather were remarkably moderate. Whatever they might desire, all that they demanded was, that their freeholds should be respected, and that a representative assembly should be established for the purpose, at least, of adjusting their taxation. The first of these points was conceded by the king ; but with respect to the other, he was inexorable. When Sir William Phips, whose spirit and gallantry had gained this monarch's esteem, pressed him to grant the colonists an assembly, he replied, "Any thing but that, Sir William" ; and even the opinion of Powis, the attorney-general, to whom the applica-

¹ *Life of Phips*, apud Mather. Neal. *Dummer's Defence of the New England Charters*. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Trumbull.

tion of the deputies was remitted, and who reported that it was just and reasonable, produced no change in his determination.

James, who had now enlarged and completed his views of colonial policy, determined to reduce all the American communities and constitutions, as well those which were denominated *proprietary* as the others, to an immediate dependence on the crown; for the double purpose of effacing examples that might diminish the resignation of the people of New England, and of combining the force of all the colonies, from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of Nova Scotia, in a compact system capable of presenting a barrier to the formidable encroachments of France. A general dislike of liberal establishments conspired with these views; and the declamations that resounded from his oppressed subjects in Britain, on the happiness and liberty which America was reputed to enjoy, contributed, at this period, to increase his aversion to American institutions.¹ In prosecution of his politic design, he had recently commanded writs of *quo warranto* to be issued for the purpose of cancelling all the colonial patents that still remained in force; and shortly before the arrival of the deputation from Massachusetts, a new commission had extended the jurisdiction of Andros to New York and New Jersey, and conferred the appointment of lieutenant-governor on Colonel Francis Nicholson. Andros, with his usual promptitude, accomplished this enlargement of his authority; and having appointed his deputy to reside at New York, he conducted his wide dominion with a vigor that rendered him formidable to the French, but, unhappily, still more formidable and odious to the people whom he governed.²

¹ Dryden, whose servile Muse faithfully reëchoed the sentiments of the court, thus expresses himself in a dramatic prologue written in the year 1686:—

“Since faction ebbs, and rogues grow out of fashion,
Their penny scribes take care to inform the nation
How well men thrive in this or that plantation:

“How Pennsylvania’s air agrees with Quakers,
And Carolina’s with associators;
Both e’en too good for madmen and for traitors.

“Truth is, our land with saints is so run o’er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there’s need of two New Englands more.”

² Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

Sir William Phips, whose fruitless interposition we have remarked in behalf of the deputation from Massachusetts, was himself a native of this province, and, notwithstanding a mean education and the depression of the humblest social position, had ascended by the mere force of superior genius to a conspicuous rank, and gained a high reputation for spirit, capacity, and success. He followed the employment of a shepherd at his native place till he was eighteen years of age, and was afterwards apprenticed to a ship-carpenter. When he was freed from his indentures, he pursued a seafaring life, and attained the station of captain of a merchant-vessel. An account which he happened to peruse of the wreck of a Spanish ship, loaded with bullion, near the Bahama Islands, about fifty years before, inspired him with the bold design of extricating the buried treasure from the bowels of the deep ; whereupon, transporting himself to England, he stated his scheme so plausibly, that the king was struck with it, and, in 1683, sent him with a vessel to undertake the experiment. It proved unsuccessful ; and all his urgency could not induce James to engage in a repetition of it. But the Duke of Albemarle, resuming the project, equipped a vessel for the purpose, and gave the command of it to Phips, who now succeeded in accomplishing his expectations, and achieved the recovery of specie, to the value of at least £ 300,000, from the bottom of the ocean. Of this treasure he obtained a portion sufficient for his own enrichment, with a still larger meed of general consideration and applause. The king was advised by some of his courtiers to confiscate the whole of the specie thus recovered, on pretence that he had not received a fair representation of the project ; but he declared that the representation had been perfectly fair, and that nothing but his own misgivings, and the timorous counsels and mean suspicions of those courtiers themselves, had deprived him of the riches which this honest man had sought to procure for him. He conceived a high regard for Phips, and conferred on him the rank of knighthood. Sir William employed his influence at court for the benefit of his country ; and his patriotism seems never to have harmed him in the opinion of the king. Finding that he could not prevail to obtain the restoration of the chartered privileges, he

solicited and received the appointment of high sheriff of New England ; in the hope, that, by remedying the abuses that were committed in the empanelling of juries, he might create a barrier against the tyranny of Andros. But the governor and his creatures, incensed at this interference, hired ruffians to attack his person, and soon compelled him to quit the province and take shelter in Britain. James, shortly before his own abdication, among the other attempts he made to conciliate his subjects, offered Phips the government of New England ; but Phips refused to accept this appointment from a falling tyrant, and under a system, which, instead of seeking any longer to mitigate, he hoped speedily to behold entirely overthrown.¹

The discontent of the people of New England continued meanwhile to increase, insomuch that every act of the government, however innocent or even laudable, was viewed through the perverting gloom of a settled jealousy, and ascribed with undoubting confidence to the most sinister designs. In order to discredit the former provincial authorities, Andros and Randolph sedulously inculcated the notion that the Indians had hitherto been treated with a cruelty and injustice, to which all the hostilities of these savages ought reasonably to be imputed ; and vaunted their own ability to pacify and propitiate them by gentleness and equity.² But this year their theory and their policy were alike disgraced by the furious hostilities of the Indians on the eastern frontiers of New England. The movements of these savages were excited on this, as on former occasions, by the insidious artifices of the French, whose suppleness of character and demeanour, contrasted with the grave, unbending spirit of the English, gave them in general a great advantage in the competition for the favor of the Indians ; and who found it easier to direct and employ than to check or eradicate the treachery and ferocity of their savage neighbours. The English colonists offered to the Indians terms of accommodation, which at first they seemed willing to accept ; but the encouragement of their French allies soon prevailed with them to reject all friendly overtures, and their native ferocity

¹ *Life of Phips, apud Mather.* Neal. Hutchinson.

² It appears that Randolph cultivated the good opinion of William Penn, by writing to him in this strain, as well as by condemning the former persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts. — Hutchinson. Chalmers.

prompted them to signalize this declaration by a series of unprovoked and unexpected massacres. Andros published a proclamation requiring that the murderers should be delivered up to him ; but the Indians treated him and his proclamation with contempt. In the depth of winter, he found himself obliged to march with a considerable force against these enemies ; and though he succeeded in occupying and fortifying positions which enabled him somewhat to restrain their future incursions, he inflicted but little injury upon them, and lost a great many of his own men, who perished in vain attempts to follow the Indians into their fastnesses, in the most rigorous season of the year. So strong and so indiscriminating was the dislike he excited among the people of New England, that this expedition was unjustly ascribed to a deliberate purpose to destroy the troops whom he conducted, by cold and famine.¹ Every reproach, however groundless, stuck fast to the hated characters of Andros and Randolph.

At length [1689] the smothered rage of the people broke forth. In the spring, some vague intelligence was received, by letters from Virginia, of the transactions of the Prince of Orange in England. The ancient magistrates and principal inhabitants of the province, though they ardently wished and secretly prayed that success might attend the Prince's enterprise, yet determined in so great a cause to incur no unnecessary hazard, and quietly to await a revolution which they believed that no movement of theirs could either promote or retard. But New England was destined to accomplish by her own efforts her own liberation ; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were now to exercise the gallant privilege, which, nearly a century after, and in a conflict still more arduous, their children again were ready to assert, of being the foremost in resisting oppression and vindicating the rights and honor of their country. The cautious policy and prudential dissuasions from violence that were employed by the wealthier and more aged colonists were contemned by the great body of the people, whose spirit and courage prompted them to achieve the deliverance which they were less qualified by foresight and

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

patience to await. Stung with the recollection of past injuries, their patriotic ardor, on the first prospect of relief, could not be restrained. In seasons of revolution, the wealthy and eminent mingle with their public spirit a less generous concern for their valuable private stakes, and their prospect of sharing in official dignities. The poor have no rich private stakes in their possession ; no dazzling preferments within their reach ; and consequently less restraint on the full flow of their social affections. All at once, and apparently without any preconcerted plan, an insurrection burst out in the town of Boston ; the drums beat to arms, the people flocked together, and in a few hours the revolt became universal, and the energy of the people so overpowering, that every purpose of resisting their will was abandoned by the government. The scruples of the more wealthy and cautious inhabitants were completely overcome by the obvious necessity of interfering to calm and regulate the fervor of the populace. Andros, Dudley, and others, to the number of fifty of the most obnoxious characters, were seized and imprisoned. On the first intelligence of the tumult, Andros sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Simon Bradstreet ; a measure that served only to suggest to the people who their chief ought to be, and to anticipate the unanimous choice by which this venerable man was reinstated in the office he had held when his country was deprived of her liberties. Though now bending under the weight of ninety years, his intellectual powers had undergone but little decay ; he retained (says Cotton Mather) a vigor and wisdom that would have recommended a younger man to the government of a greater colony. As the tidings of the revolt spread through the province, the people eagerly flew to arms, and hurried to Boston to coöperate with their insurgent countrymen. To the assembled crowds a proclamation was read from the balcony of the court-house, detailing the grievances of the colony, and imputing the whole to the tyrannical abrogation of the charter. A committee of safety was appointed by general consent ; and an assembly of representatives being convened soon after, this body, by a unanimous vote, and with the hearty concurrence of the whole province, declared their ancient charter and its constitutions to be resumed ; reappointed Bradstreet and all

the other magistrates who were in office in the year 1686 ; and directed these persons in all things to conform to the provisions of the charter, " that this method of government may be found among us when order shall come from the higher powers in England." They announced that Andros and his fellow-prisoners were detained in custody to abide the directions that might be received concerning them from his Highness the Prince of Orange and the English parliament.¹ What would be the extent and final issue of the revolution that was in progress in the parent state was yet unknown in the colonies.

The example of Massachusetts was followed by the other provinces of New England. When the tidings of the revolution at Boston reached Connecticut, the inhabitants determined no longer to acknowledge a governor, who, from the command of one half of the English colonies, was now reduced to the situation of an imprisoned delinquent. Their charter reappeared from its concealment ; and their democratical constitution, which had not been either expressly surrendered or legally dissolved, was instantly restored with universal satisfaction. The people of Rhode Island had never been required to give up the charter whose privileges they so formally and unequivocally resigned ; and now, without a moment's scruple or hesitation, they protested that it was still in force, and removed as well as they could the only obstruction to this plea, by retracting every prior declaration of a contrary tenor. New Plymouth, in like manner, resumed instantaneously its ancient form of government. In New Hampshire, there assembled a general convention of the inhabitants, who promptly and unanimously determined to reannex their territory to Massachusetts. In pursuance of this purpose, they elected deputies to represent them in the General Court at Boston ; but King William refused to comply with their wishes, and in the sequel appointed a separate governor for New Hampshire.²

¹ Lives of Bradstreet and Phips, *apud* Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. The provisional government at Boston would willingly have released Andros, after they had deprived him of power ; but the people vehemently insisted that he should be detained in prison. " I am deeply sensible that we have a wolf by the ears," says Danforth, in a letter written on this occasion to Mather, the provincial agent in England. Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Papers*.

² Hutchinson. Chalmers.

Although the people of Massachusetts at first distinctly intimated their intention to reëstablish by their own act their ancient charter, the calm reflection that succeeded the ferment during which this purpose had been broached convinced them that its accomplishment was impracticable, and that the renovation of a charter, vacated by legal process before the tribunals of the parent state, could proceed only from the crown or legislature of England. Informed of the convention of estates convoked by the Prince of Orange in England, the revolutionary government of Massachusetts assembled a similar convention of the counties and towns of the province ; and it was the opinion of the majority of this assembly, that, although the charter might be restored, it could not be resumed. Intelligence having arrived of the settlement of England, and of the investiture of William and Mary with the crown, these sovereigns were proclaimed in the colony with sincere gratulation and extraordinary solemnity. [May 29, 1689.] A letter was soon after addressed by the king and queen *to the Colony of Massachusetts*, expressing the royal sanction and ratification of the late transactions of the people, and authorizing the present magistrates to retain provisionally the administration of the provincial government, till their Majesties, with the assistance of the privy council, should establish it on a basis more permanent and satisfactory. An order was communicated, at the same time, to send Andros and the other prisoners to England, that they might answer the charges preferred against them. Additional agents were deputed by the colony to join Mather, who still continued in England, and, in concurrence with him, to prosecute the charges against Andros, and, above all, to solicit the restoration of the charter.¹

But before the colonists were able to ascertain if their favorite desire was to be promoted by the English Revolution, they felt the evil effects of this great event, in the consequences of the war that ensued between England and France. The rupture between the two parent states quickly extended itself to their possessions in America ; and the colonies of New England and New York were now involved in bloody and

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

desolating warfare with the forces of the French in Canada and their Indian auxiliaries and allies. The hostilities that were directed against New York belong to another branch of this history. In concert with them, various attacks were made by numerous bands of the Indians, in the conclusion of the present year, on the settlements and forts in New Hampshire and Maine ; and proving successful in some instances, they were productive of the most horrid extremities of savage cruelty. Aware that these depredations originated in Canada and Acadia, the General Court of Massachusetts prepared, during the winter, an expedition against both Port Royal and Quebec. The conduct of it was intrusted to Sir William Phips, who, on the dissolution of the late arbitrary government, returned to New England, in the hope of being able to render some service to his countrymen. Eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men, sailed under his command, in the following spring [April, 1690], and, with little opposition, took possession of Port Royal and of the whole province of Acadia ; and, within a month after its departure, the fleet returned loaded with plunder enough to defray the whole expense of the expedition. But Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, retorted by sharp and harassing attacks on the remote settlements of New England ; and, stimulating the activity of his Indian allies, kept the frontiers in a state of incessant alarm by their predatory incursions.

In letters to King William the General Court of Massachusetts had forcibly represented the importance of the conquest of Canada, and urgently solicited his aid in an expedition for that purpose ; but he was too much occupied in Europe to extend his exertions to America ; and the provincial government determined to prosecute the enterprise without his assistance. New York and Connecticut engaged to furnish a body of men who were to march overland to attack Montreal, while the troops of Massachusetts should repair by sea to Quebec. The fleet destined for this expedition consisted of nearly forty vessels, the largest of which carried forty-four guns ; and the number of troops on board amounted to two thousand. [Aug. 9, 1690.] The command of this armament was intrusted to Sir William Phips, who, in the conduct of the en-

terprise, demonstrated his usual courage, and every other military qualification except that which experience alone can confer, and without which, in warfare with a civilized enemy, all the rest commonly prove unavailing. The troops of Connecticut and New York, retarded by defective arrangements, and disappointed of the assistance of the friendly Indians who had engaged to furnish them with canoes for crossing the rivers they had to pass, were compelled to retire without attacking Montreal ; and, in consequence, the whole force of Canada was concentrated to resist the attack of Phips. His armament arrived before Quebec so late in the season [October], that only an immediate assault could have enabled him to carry the place ; but by unskilful delay the opportunity of making such an attempt with advantage was irretrievably lost. The English were worsted in various sharp encounters, and finally compelled to make a precipitate retreat ; and the fleet, after sustaining great damage in its homeward voyage, returned to Boston. [November 13.] Such was the unfortunate issue of an enterprise which involved Massachusetts in an enormous expense, and cost the lives of at least a thousand of her people. The French had so strongly foreboded its success, that they ascribed its discomfiture to the immediate interposition, of Heaven, in confounding the devices of the enemy, and depriving them of common sense ; and under this impression, the citizens of Quebec established an annual procession in commemoration of their deliverance. That the conduct of Phips, however, was no way obnoxious to censure may be safely inferred from the fact that a result so disastrous brought no reproach upon him, and deprived him in no degree of the favor of his countrymen. And yet the disappointment, in addition to the mortification which it inflicted, was attended with very injurious consequences.

The General Court of Massachusetts had not even anticipated the possibility of miscarriage, and confidently expected to derive, from the success of the expedition, the same reimbursement of expenses which their former enterprise had afforded. "During the absence of the forces," says Cotton Mather, with an expression too whimsical for a matter of so much solemnity, "the wheel of prayer for them in New Eng-

land had been kept continually going round ” ; and this attempt to reinforce the expedition by spiritual coöperation was pursued in conjunction with an entire neglect of provisions applicable to an unsuccessful result. The returning army, finding the government unprepared to satisfy their claims, were on the point of mutinying for their pay ; and it was found necessary to issue bills of credit, which the troops consented to accept in place of money. The colony was now in a very depressed and suffering state. Hoping to *improve* (as they expressed themselves) the calamities which they were unable to evade, the provincial magistrates endeavoured to promote the increase of piety and the reformation of manners ; and pressed upon the ministers and the people the duty of strongly resisting that worldliness of mind which the necessity of contending violently for temporal interests is apt to engender. The attacks of the Indians on the eastern frontiers were attended with a degree of success and barbarity that diffused general terror ; and the colonists in this quarter were yielding to anticipations of a speedy expulsion from their settlements, when, all at once, the savages, of their own accord, proposed a peace of six months, which was accepted by the provincial government with great willingness and devout gratitude. As it was clearly ascertained that the hostilities of the Indians were continually fostered by the intrigues, and rendered the more formidable by the counsel and assistance, of the French authorities in Canada, the people of New England began to regard the conquest of that province as indispensable to their safety and tranquillity. With the hope of prevailing on the king to sanction and embrace this enterprise, as well as for the purpose of aiding the other deputies in the no less interesting application for the restoration of the provincial charter, Sir William Phips, soon after his return from Quebec, by desire of his countrymen, repaired to England.¹

In the discharge of the duties of their mission [1691], the deputies employed every effort that patriotic zeal could prompt, and honorable policy admit, to obtain satisfaction to their constituents, by the punishment of their oppressors, and the resti-

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*.

tution of their charter. But in both these objects their endeavours were unsuccessful ; and the failure was generally (whether justly or not) ascribed to the unbending integrity with which Mather and Phips rejected every art and intrigue that seemed inconsistent with the honor of their country. It was soon discovered that the king and his ministers were averse to an inquiry into the conduct of Andros and Randolph, and not less so to the restoration of the ancient charter of the colony. The conduct of the British court on this occasion presents a confused and disgusting picture of intrigue and duplicity. The deputies were beset by a multitude of importunate counsellors, and real or pretended partisans ;—some doubtless indiscreet, and some perhaps insincere. They were persuaded by certain of their advisers to present to the privy council the charges against Andros *unsigned*, and assured by others that in so doing they had *cut the throat of their country*. When they attended to present their charges, they were anticipated by Andros and Randolph, who came prepared with a charge against the colonists of resistance to the authority of the parent state, and rebellious deposition of their legitimate governor. Sir John Somers, the lawyer employed by the deputies, consented that they should abandon the situation of accusers and stand on the defensive ; and he tendered the unsigned charges as an answer to the accusations of Andros and Randolph. The council hesitated to receive a plea presented in the name of a whole people, and required that some individuals should appear and personally avouch it. “ Who was it,” said the Lord President, “ that imprisoned Sir Edmund and the rest ? You say it was the country, and that they rose as one man. But that is nobody. Let us see the persons who will make it their own case.” The deputies thereupon offered to sign the charges, and to undertake the amplest personal responsibility for the acts of their countrymen. But they were deterred from this proceeding by the remonstrances of Sir John Somers, who insisted (for reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained) on persisting in the course in which they had begun. Some of the counsellors protested against the injustice and chicanery of encountering the complaint of a whole nation with objections so narrow and technical. “ Is not it

plain," they urged, "that the revolution in Massachusetts was carried on exactly in the same manner as the revolution in England? Who seized and imprisoned Chancellor Jeffries? Who secured the garrison of Hull? These were the acts of the people, and not of private individuals." This difference of opinion on a point of form seems to have been the object which the ministry studied to promote. Without determining the point, the council interrupted the discussion by a resolution that the whole matter should be referred to the king; and his Majesty soon after signified his pleasure that the complaints of both parties should be dismissed.¹ [1691.] Thus terminated the impeachment of Andros, in a manner very ill calculated to impress the people of Massachusetts with respect for the justice of the British government. They soon after had the mortification of seeing him add reward to impunity, and honored with the appointment of governor of Virginia and Maryland. They had previously seen Dudley, whom they arrested and sent to England with Andros, appointed chief justice of New York, where he condemned to death the unfortunate Leisler, who excited the first revolutionary movement in that colony in favor of King William.²

The deputies, finding that the House of Commons, though at first disposed to annul the judicial decree against the charter of Massachusetts, had been persuaded, by the arguments of Somers and other lawyers who possessed seats in the house, to depart from this purpose, and that the king was resolved not to restore the old charter, employed every effort to obtain at least a restitution of the privileges it conferred. But William and his ministers, though restrained from imitating the tyrannical measures of the former reign, were eager and determined to avail themselves of whatever acquisitions these measures might have gained to the royal prerogative; and finding that the crown had acquired a specious legal pretext

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

² Randolph was not sent back to America. He received, however, an appointment in the West Indies, where he died, retaining, it is said, his dislike of the people of New England to the last. Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary of New England*. Cranfield, the tyrant of New Hampshire, was appointed collector of customs at Barbadoes. He repented of his conduct in New England, and endeavoured to atone for it by showing all the kindness in his power to the New England traders who resorted to Barbadoes. Belknap.

to exercise much greater authority over the colony than was reserved in its original constitution, they scrupled not to take advantage of this pretext, without regard to the tyrannical cast of the policy by which it had been obtained. The restoration of their ancient privilege of electing their own municipal officers was ardently desired by the colonists, and demanded by the deputies with a warmth which the king would probably have resented as disrespectful to himself, if he had not felt himself bound to excuse the irritation provoked by his own injustice. In vain did Archbishop Tillotson urge him not to withhold from the people of Massachusetts the full measure of those privileges, which, even under the arbitrary sway of Charles the First, had been conceded to them. He adhered inflexibly to his determination of retaining, as far as possible, every advantage, however surreptitiously acquired, that fortune had put into his hands ; and at length a new charter was framed on principles that widely departed from the primeval constitution of the colony, and transferred to the crown many valuable privileges that originally belonged to the people. [October 7, 1691.]

By this charter the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, together with the conquered province of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, were united together under one jurisdiction, — an arrangement that was by no means satisfactory to the parties included in it ; for Plymouth, which earnestly solicited a separate establishment, was forcibly annexed to Massachusetts ; and New Hampshire, which as earnestly petitioned to be included in this annexation, was made a separate province.¹ The appointment of the governor, deputy-governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty was reserved to the crown. Twenty-eight counsellors were directed to be chosen by the house of assembly, and presented to the governor for his approbation. The governor was empowered to convoke, ad-

¹ The union so much desired by the people of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was overruled by the interest and for the convenience of Samuel Allen, a merchant in London, to whom Mason's heirs had sold their claim to the soil of New Hampshire. He was appointed the first governor of the province ; and, employing his authority in vexatious, but unsuccessful, attempts to extract pecuniary profit from his purchased claim, rendered himself extremely odious to the people. Belknap. He was superseded in the office of governor by Lord Bellamont, in 1693.

journal, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly at pleasure ; to nominate, exclusively, all military officers, and (with consent of the council) all the judges and other officers of the law. To the governor was reserved a negative on the laws and acts of the general assembly and council ; and all laws enacted by these bodies and approved by the governor were to be transmitted to England for the royal approbation ; and if disallowed within the space of three years, they were to become absolutely void. Liberty of conscience and of divine worship, which had not been mentioned in the old charter, was, by the present one, expressly assured to all persons except Roman Catholics.¹

The innovations thus introduced into their ancient municipal constitution excited much discontent in the minds of the people of Massachusetts ; the more especially because the enlargement of royal authority was not attended with a proportional communication of the royal protection. At the very time when the king thus extended the limits of his prerogative at the expense of popular liberty, he found himself constrained, by the urgency of his affairs in Europe, to refuse the assistance which the people besought from him to repel the hostilities of the Indians and of the French forces in Canada. The situation of the provinces of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were permitted to reassume all their ancient privileges, rendered the injustice with which Massachusetts was treated more flagrant and irritating. Though legal technicalities might be thought by lawyers and special pleaders to warrant the advantageous distinction which those States enjoyed, a conclusion so illiberal was utterly repugnant to the enlarged views of justice and equity which ought to regulate the policy of a legislator. Only mistake on the one side, or artifice on the

¹ Mather, *Life of Sir William Phips*. Neal. Hutchinson. Belknap. Bancroft. "That charter effected in Massachusetts as perfect and thorough a révolution as ever was produced by a similar act in any state or nation. It changed not only the form of the government and the relations of power among the people, but also the entire foundation and objects of the government. By making freehold and property, instead of church-membership, the qualification of the right of electing and being elected to office, religion became no longer the end and object of the civil government." Quincy's *History of Harvard University*. This change was for a while disguised by the coincidence between the sentiments of the first boards of new magistrates and the ancient system of municipal polity.

other, could be supposed to have procured to Connecticut and Rhode Island an advantage that made the treatment of Massachusetts more invidious ; and a dangerous lesson was taught to the colonial communities, when they were thus given to understand that it was their own vigilant dexterity and successful intrigue, or the blunders of the parent state, that they were to rely on as the safeguards of their rights. The injustice of the policy now applied to Massachusetts was rendered still more glaringly apparent by the very different treatment obtained by the powerful corporation of the city of London, whose charter, though annulled with the same legal formality and on grounds as plausible as the ancient charter of Massachusetts, was restored by a legislative act immediately after the Revolution. Nor was any real political advantage obtained by the English government from its violation of just and equitable principles. The power that was wrested from the colonists and appropriated by the crown was quite inadequate to the formation of an efficient royal party in the province. The usurped prerogative of nominating the governor and other officers was regarded as a badge of dependence, instead of forming a bond of union. The popular assemblies retained sufficient influence over the governors to curb them in the administration of an illiberal policy, and sufficient power to restrain them from making any serious inroad on the constitution. It is a remarkable fact, that the dissensions between the two countries, which eventually terminated in the dissolution of the British empire in America, were not a little promoted by the pernicious counsels and erroneous information conveyed to the English ministry by the governors of those provinces in which the appointment to that office was exercised by the king.

Aware of the dissatisfaction with which the new charter was regarded, the ministers of William judged it prudent to waive in the outset the full exercise of the invidious prerogative, and desired the provincial deputies to name the person whom they considered most likely to be acceptable to their countrymen as governor of Massachusetts ; and the deputies having united in recommending Sir William Phips, the appointment to this office was bestowed on him accordingly. This act of courtesy

was attended with a degree of success in mollifying the ill-humor of the people, that attests the high estimation in which Phips was held by his countrymen; for on his arrival at Boston [May, 1692], though some discontent was betrayed, and several of the members of the General Court warmly insisted that the new charter should be absolutely rejected,¹ yet the great body of the people received him with acclamations; and a majority of the General Court resolved that the charter should be heartily accepted, and appointed a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival of their worthy governor and of Increase Mather, whose services they acknowledged with grateful commemoration. The new governor hastened to approve himself worthy of the favorable regard thus expressed for him. Having convoked the General Court of the province, he addressed the members in a short, characteristic speech, recommending to them the composition of a code of good laws with all the expedition they could exert. "Gentlemen," said he, "you may make yourselves as easy as you will for ever. Consider what may have a tendency to your welfare; and you may be sure that whatever bills you offer to me, consistent with the honor and interest of the crown, I'll pass them readily. I do but seek opportunities to serve you. Had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted of this office. And whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the government." His conduct seems in general to have corresponded with these professions.²

And yet, the administration of Sir William Phips was neither long nor prosperous. Though he might give his sanc-

¹ Mather and the other deputies, when they found it impossible to obtain an alteration of the new charter, proposed at first to reject it altogether, and to institute a process for trying the validity of the judgment pronounced on the *quo warranto*. They were deterred from this proceeding by the solemn assurance of Treby, Somers, and the two chief justices of England (Holt and Pollexfen), that, if the judgment were reversed, a new *quo warranto* would be issued, and inevitably followed by a sentence exempt from all ground of challenge. These learned persons assured the deputies, that the colonists, by erecting judicatories, constituting a house of representatives, and incorporating colleges, had forfeited their charter, which gave no sanction to such acts of authority. — Hutchinson.

² Mather, *Life of Phips*. Neal. Hutchinson.

tion as governor to popular laws, it was not in his power to prevent them from being rescinded by the crown; and this fate soon befell a law that was passed by the provincial assembly, declaring the colonists exempt from all taxes but such as should be imposed by their own representatives, and asserting their right to share all the privileges of Magna Charta. He found the province involved in a distressing war with the French and Indians, and in the still more formidable calamity of that delusion which has been termed *the New England witchcraft*. When the Indians were informed of the elevation of Sir William Phips to the office of governor of Massachusetts, they were struck with amazement at the fortunes of the man whose humble origin they perfectly well knew, and with whom they had familiarly associated but a few years before in the obscurity of his primitive condition. Impressed with a high opinion of his courage and resolution, and a superstitious dread of that fortune that seemed destined to surmount every obstacle and prevail over every disadvantage, they would willingly have made peace with him and his countrymen, but were induced to continue the war by the artifices and intrigues of the French. A few months after his arrival, the governor, at the head of a small army, marched to Pemmaquid, on the Merrimack River, and there caused to be erected a fort of considerable strength, and calculated by its situation to form a powerful barrier to the province, and to overawe the neighbouring tribes of Indians, and interrupt their mutual communication.

The beneficial effect of this operation was experienced in the following year [1693], when the Indians sent ambassadors to the fort at Pemmaquid, and there concluded with English commissioners a treaty of peace, by which they renounced for ever the interests of the French, and pledged themselves to perpetual amity with the inhabitants of New England.¹ The colonists, who had suffered severely from the recent depredations of these savages,² and were still laboring under the

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

² The situation of the people of New Hampshire, in particular, had become so irksome and dangerous, that at one time they entertained the purpose of abandoning the province. Belknap. When Adam Smith declared that "nothing can be more contemptible than an Indian war in North America,"

burdens entailed on them by former wars, were not slow to embrace the first overtures of peace ; and yet they murmured with great discontent and ill-humor at the measure to which they were principally indebted for the deliverance they had so ardently desired. The expense of building the fort, and of maintaining its garrison and stores, occasioned an addition to the existing taxes, which provoked their impatience. The party who had opposed submission to the new charter eagerly promoted every complaint against the conduct of a system which they regarded with rooted aversion ; and labored so successfully on this occasion to vilify the person and government of Sir William Phips in the eyes of his countrymen, that his popularity sustained a shock from which it never afterwards entirely recovered. The people were easily persuaded to regard the increase of taxation as the effect of the recent abridgment of their political privileges, and to believe, that, if they had retained their ancient control over the officers of government, the administration of their affairs would have been more economically conducted. But another cause, which we have already cursorily remarked, and must now more attentively consider, rendered the minds of the colonists at this time unusually susceptible of gloomy impressions, and of suspicions equally irritating and unreasonable. [1693.]

The belief of witchcraft was at this period almost universal in Christian countries ; and the existence and criminality of the practice were recognized in the penal code of every civilized state. Persons suspected of being witches and wizards were frequently tried, condemned, and put to death by the authority of the most enlightened tribunals in Europe ; and, in

he alluded to a period much later than this, and in which the proportion between the numbers of the savage and civilized races had undergone a great alteration. Even then, the observation was just only in so far as respected apprehensions of conquest ; for no hostilities were ever more fraught with cruelty, misery, and horror, than those of the North American Indians. When Chalmers pronounced the Indians "a foe that has never proved dangerous, except to the effeminate, the factious, and the cowardly," he was transported into this injustice by the desire of lowering the reputation of the people of New Hampshire, — a portion of the American population who seem to have provoked in a peculiar degree his spleen and malevolence. New Hampshire has been more justly characterized by an American historian as "a nursery of stern heroism ; producing men of firmness and valor, who can traverse mountains and deserts, encounter hardships, and face an enemy without terror." Belknap.

particular, but a few years before the present epoch, Sir Matthew Hale, a man highly and justly renowned for the strength of his understanding, the variety of his knowledge, and the eminent Christian graces that adorned his character, after a long and anxious investigation, adjudged a number of men and women to die for this offence at an assize in Suffolk.¹ The reality of witchcraft had never yet been questioned; nor were there any individuals to whom that reality appeared unimportant or incredible, except those who regarded the spiritual world altogether as a mere speculation of visionary fancy, and delusive. Among other believers in the practice were some of the unfortunate beings themselves who were put to death as witches. Instigated by fraud, folly, or malignity, or possessed by demoniacal frenzy, some of these unhappy persons professed, more or less openly, to hold communication with the powers of darkness; and by the administration of subtle poisons, by disturbing the imagination of their victims, or by an actual appropriation of that unhallowed agency which Scripture assures us did once operate in the world, and of which no equal authority has ever proclaimed the extinction, they committed crimes and inflicted injuries which were punished, doubtless sometimes, perhaps frequently, under an erroneous name.

The colonists of New England, participating in the general belief of this practice, regarded it with a degree of abhorrence and indignation corresponding to the piety for which they were so remarkably distinguished. Their experience in America had tended to strengthen the sentiments on this subject which they brought with them from Europe; for they found the belief of witchcraft firmly rooted among the Indian tribes, and the practice (or what was so termed and esteemed) prevailing extensively, and with perfect impunity, among those people,

¹ Howell's *State Trials*. Even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the conviction of the witches of Warbois, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was still commemorated in an annual sermon at Huntingdon. Johnson's *Works, Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth*. The seceders from the established church in Scotland published an act of their associate presbytery at Edinburgh, in 1743 (reprinted at Glasgow in 1766), denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin. Arnot's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*.

The last executions for witchcraft in the British dominions were at Huntingdon in 1716, and in Sutherlandshire in 1722. — Arnot.

whom, as heathens, they regarded as the worshippers of demons.¹ Their conviction of the reality of witchcraft, was, not unreasonably, confirmed by such evidence of the universal assent of mankind; and their resentment of its enormity was proportionally increased by the honor and acceptance which they saw it enjoy under the shelter of superstitions that denied and dishonored the true God. The first trials for witchcraft in New England occurred in the year 1645, when four persons charged with this crime were put to death in Massachusetts. Goffe, the regicide, in his *Diary*, records the conviction of three others at Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1662, and remarks, that, after one of them was hanged, a young woman, who had been bewitched, was restored to health. For more than twenty years after, few instances occurred, and little notice has been preserved of similar prosecutions. But in the year 1688, a woman was executed for witchcraft at Boston, after an investigation conducted with a degree of solemnity that made a deep impression on the minds of the people. An account of the whole transaction was published; and so generally were the wise and good persuaded of the justice of the proceeding, that Richard Baxter, the celebrated Non-conformist divine, wrote a preface to the narrative, in which he scrupled not to declare every one who refused to believe it an obdurate Sadducee. The attention of the people being thus strongly excited, and their suspicions awakened and attracted in this dangerous direction, the charges of witchcraft became gradually more frequent, till, at length, there commenced at Salem that dreadful tragedy which rendered New England for many months a scene of bloodshed, terror, and madness.

In the beginning of the year 1692, Massachusetts was visited with an epidemical complaint resembling epilepsy, which the physicians, unable to explain or cure, readily imputed to supernatural operation. Some young women, and among others the daughter and niece of Paris, the minister of Salem village, were first attacked by this distemper, and induced by the suggestions of their medical attendants to ascribe it to witchcraft.

¹ Hubbard, a Puritan minister, and one of the earliest historians of New England, cites with approbation the opinion of a Mr. Mede, that America was originally peopled by a crew of witches, transported thither by the devil. — *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, Vol. III.

The delusion was encouraged by a perverted application of the means best fitted to strengthen and enlighten the understanding. Solemn fasts were observed, and assemblies convoked for extraordinary prayer ; and the supposition of witchcraft, which in reality had been previously assumed, was thus confirmed and consecrated in the apprehension of the public. The imaginations of the patients, disturbed by morbid sensation, and inflamed by the contagious terror which their supposed malady excited, readily prompted accusations against particular individuals as the authors of the calamity. The flame was now kindled, and finding ample nourishment in all the strongest passions and most inveterate weaknesses of human nature, carried havoc and destruction through the community. The bodily symptoms of the prevailing epidemic, frequently pondered by timorous and susceptible persons, were propagated with amazing rapidity ; and having been once regarded as symptoms of witchcraft, were ever after referred to the same diabolical origin. The usual and well known contagion of nervous disorders was quickened by dread of the horrid and mysterious agency from which they were now supposed to arise ; and this appalling dread, enfeebling the reason of its victims, led them to confound the visions of their disturbed apprehension with the realities of sound experience. To think earnestly upon any thing implies its influence and engraves its presence on the mind ; and to dread it is partly to realize and still farther to invite its dominion. Symptoms before unheard of, and unusually terrific,¹ attended the cases of the sufferers, and were supposed to prove beyond a doubt that the disorder was no natural ailment ; while, in truth, they denoted nothing else than the extraordinary terror of the unhappy patients, who

¹ Swelling of the throat, in particular, now well known to be a symptom of hysterical affection, was considered at that time a horrible prodigy. Medical science was still depraved by an admixture of gross superstition. The touch of a king was believed to be capable of curing some diseases ; and astrology formed a part of the course of medical study, because the efficacy of drugs was believed to be promoted or impeded by planetary influence. "In consequence of the greater nervous irritability of women," says Dugald Stewart, "their muscular system seems to possess a greater degree of that mobility by which the principle of sympathetic imitation operates." The first and the most numerous of the supposed victims of witchcraft in New England were young women. It is not improbable, that, in some cases, the other morbid symptoms were complicated with the mysterious phenomena of somnambulism.

augmented the malignity of their disease by the darkness and horror of the source to which they traced it. Every case of nervous derangement was now referred to this source, and every morbid affection of the spirits and fancy diverted into the most dangerous channel. Accusations of particular individuals easily suggested themselves to the disordered minds of the sufferers, and were eagerly preferred by themselves and their relatives, in the hope of obtaining deliverance from the calamity by the punishment of its guilty authors.

These charges, however unsupported by proof, and however remote from probability, alighted with fatal influence wherever they fell. The supernatural intimation, by which they were supposed to be dictated, supplied and excluded all ordinary proof; and when a patient, under the dominion of nervous affections, or in the intervals of epileptic paroxysms, declared that he had seen the apparition of a particular individual occasioning his sufferings, no consideration of previously unblemished character could screen the accused from a trial, which, if the patient persisted in the charge, invariably terminated in a conviction. The charges were frequently admitted without any other proof, for the very reason for which they should have been absolutely rejected by human tribunals, — that their truth was judged incapable of ordinary proof, or of being known to any but the accuser and the accused. So general and inveterate was the belief in the reality of the supposed witchcraft, that no one dared openly to gainsay it, whatever might really be his opinion on the subject; and the innocent victims of the charges were constrained to argue on the assumption, that the apparitions of themselves, described by their accusers, had actually been seen, — and reduced to plead that their semblance was assumed by an evil spirit that sought to screen his proper instruments, and divert the public indignation upon unoffending persons. It was maintained, however, by Stoughton, the deputy-governor of Massachusetts, most gratuitously, but, unhappily, to the conviction of the public, that an evil spirit could sustain only the appearance of such persons as had given up their bodies to him and devoted themselves to his service. The semblance of legal proof, besides, was very soon added to the force of those charges; and seeming to put their truth

past doubt in some cases, was thought to confirm it in all. Some of the accused, terrified by their danger, sought safety in avowing their guilt, recanting their supposed impiety, and denouncing others as their tempters and associates. In order to beget favor and verify their recantation, they now declared themselves the victims of the witchcraft they had formerly practised, counterfeited the nervous affections of their own accusers, and imputed their sufferings to the vengeance of their ancient accomplices.

These artifices and the general delusion were promoted by the conduct of the magistrates, who, with a monstrous inversion of equity and sound sense, offered impunity to all who would confess the imputed crime and betray their associates, while they inflexibly doomed to death every accused person who maintained his innocence. Thus one accusation produced a multitude of others, — the accused becoming accusers and witnesses, and hastening to escape from danger by fastening the guilt on other persons. From Salem, where its main fury was exerted, the evil spread over the whole province of Massachusetts; and wherever it was able to penetrate, it effectually subverted the happiness and security of life. The sword of the law was wrested from the hand of dispassionate justice, and committed to the grasp of the wildest fear and fury, while the shield of the law was denied to the unfortunate objects of these headlong and dangerous passions. Alarm and terror pervaded all ranks of society. The first and the favorite objects of arraignment were ill-favored old women, whose dismal aspect, exciting horror and aversion instead of tenderness and compassion, was reckoned a proof of their guilt, and seemed to designate the appropriate agents of mysterious and unearthly wickedness. But the sphere of accusation was progressively enlarged to such a degree, that at length neither age nor sex, neither ignorance nor innocence, neither learning nor piety, neither reputation nor office, could afford the slightest safeguard against a charge of witchcraft. Even irrational creatures were not exempted from this fatal charge; and a dog, belonging to a person accused of witchcraft, was hanged as the accomplice of a crime which the poor brute was alike incapable of confessing, denying, or comprehending. Under the domin-

ion of terror, all mutual confidence was destroyed, and the kindest feelings of human nature were trampled under foot. The nearest relations became each other's accusers ; and one unhappy man, in particular, was condemned and executed on the testimony of his wife and daughter, who impeached him merely with the view of preserving themselves. Many respectable persons fled from the colony ; others, maintaining their innocence, were capitally convicted, and died with a serene courage and piety, that affected, but could not disabuse, the spectators.

The accounts that have been preserved of the trials of these unfortunate persons present a most revolting and humiliating picture of frenzy, folly, and injustice. In support of the charge of witchcraft against some of the prisoners, the court permitted testimony to be given of losses and mishaps that had befallen the accusers or their cattle (even as long as twenty years before the trial), after some meeting or some disagreement between them and the prisoners. Against others it was deposed, that they had performed greater feats of strength, and walked from one place to another in a shorter space of time, than the accusers judged possible without diabolical assistance. But the main article of proof was the spectral apparitions of the persons of the pretended witches to the eyes of their supposed victims during the paroxysms of their malady. The accusers sometimes declared that they could not see the prisoners at the bar of the court ; which was construed into a proof of the immediate exertion of Satanic influence in rendering the persons of the culprits invisible to those who were to testify against them. The bodies of the prisoners were commonly examined for the discovery of what were termed witch-marks ; and as the examiners did not know what they were seeking for, and yet earnestly desired to find it, every little puncture or discoloration of the skin was easily believed to be the impress of infernal touch. In general, the accusers fell into fits, or complained of violent uneasiness, at the sight of the prisoners. On the trial of Burroughs, a clergyman of the highest respectability, some of the witnesses being affected in this manner, the judges replied to his protestations of innocence by asking if he would venture to deny that these persons were

then laboring under the malignant influence of the powers of hell. He answered, that he did not deny it, but that he denied having any concern with it. "If you were not a friend of the devil," replied the presiding judge, "he would not exert himself in this manner to prevent these persons from speaking against you." When a prisoner in his defence uttered any thing that seemed to move the audience in his favor, some of the accusers were ready to exclaim that they saw the devil standing by and putting the words in his mouth; and every feeling of humanity was chased away by such absurd and frantic exclamations. While one of the convicts, at the foot of the scaffold, was addressing a last assurance of his innocence to the spectators, the executioner sat by him smoking tobacco; and some of the smoke having been wafted by the wind into the eyes of the dying man, the accusers thereupon set up a shout of brutal triumph, and exclaimed, "See how the devil wraps him in smoke!" It cannot be doubted that fraud and malignity had a share in inciting these prosecutions.

The principle that was practically avowed in the courts of justice, that, in cases of witchcraft, accusation was equivalent to conviction, presented the most subtle and powerful allurements to the indulgence of natural ferocity and the gratification of fantastic terror and suspicion; and there is but too much reason to believe that rapacity, malice, and revenge were not vainly invited to seize this opportunity of satiating their appetites in confiscation and bloodshed. So strong, meanwhile, was the popular delusion, that even the detection of manifest perjury, on one of the trials, proved insufficient to weaken the credit of the most unsupported accusation. Sir William Phips, the governor, Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, and the most learned and eminent persons, both among the clergy and laity of the province, partook and promoted the general infatuation. Nothing but an outrageous zeal against witchcraft seemed capable of assuring any individual of the safety of his life; and temptations, that but too frequently overpowered human courage and virtue, arose from the conviction impressed on every person that there remained no other alternative than that of becoming the oppressor or the oppressed. The *afflicted* (as the accusers were termed) and their witnesses

and partisans began to form a numerous and united party in every community, which none dared to oppose, and which none who once joined or supported it could forsake with impunity. A magistrate, who for a while took an active part in examining and committing the supposed delinquents, beginning to suspect that the charges originated in some fatal mistake, showed an inclination to discourage them, and straightway found that he had drawn the dangerous imputation on himself. A constable, who had apprehended many of the accused, was smitten with a similar suspicion, and hastily declared that he would meddle in this matter no farther. Reflecting with alarm on the danger he had provoked, he attempted to fly the country, but was overtaken in his flight by the vengeance of the accusers ; and, having been brought back to Salem, was tried for witchcraft, convicted, and executed. Some persons, whom the instinct of self-preservation had induced to accuse their friends or kinsfolk, touched with remorse, confessed the crime they had been guilty of, and retracted their testimony. They were convicted of relapse into witchcraft, and died the victims of their returning virtue.

At last, the very excess of the evil brought about its cure. About fifteen months had elapsed since it first broke forth ; and so far from being extinguished or abated, it was growing every day more formidable. Of twenty-eight persons capitally convicted, nineteen had been hanged ; and one, for refusing to plead, was *pressed to death* ; — the only instance in which this engine of legal barbarity was ever employed in North America. The number of the accusers and pardoned witnesses multiplied with alarming rapidity. The sons of Governor Bradstreet, and other individuals of eminent station and character, had fled from a charge belied by the whole tenor of their lives. A hundred and fifty persons were in prison on the same charge, and impeachments of no less than two hundred others had been presented to the magistrates. Men began to ask where this would end. The constancy and piety with which the unfortunate victims encountered their fate produced an impression on the minds of the people, which, though counterbalanced at the time by the testimony of the pardoned witnesses, gained strength from the reflection that these witnesses purchased their lives by their

testimony, while the persons against whom they had borne evidence sealed their own testimony with their blood.

It was happy, perhaps, for the country, that, while the minds of the people were awakening to reflections thus reasonable and humane, some of the accusers carried the audacity of their arraignment to such a pitch, as to prefer charges of witchcraft against Lady Phips, the governor's wife, and against certain of the nearest relatives of Dr. Increase Mather, the most pious minister and popular citizen of Massachusetts. This circumstance at once opened the eyes of Sir William Phips and Dr. Mather; so far, at least, as to induce a strong suspicion that many of the late proceedings which they had countenanced were rash and indefensible. They felt that they had dealt with others in a manner very different from that in which they were now reduced to desire that others should deal with them. A kindred sentiment beginning also to prevail in the public mind encouraged the resolute exertion by which a citizen of Boston succeeded in stemming the fury of these terrible proscriptions. Having been charged with witchcraft by some persons at Andover, he anticipated an arrest, by promptly arresting his accusers for defamation, and preferring on oath against them a claim of damages to the amount of a thousand pounds. The effect of this vigorous conduct surpassed his most sanguine expectations. It seemed as if a spell that had been cast over the people of Andover was dissolved by one bold touch; the frenzy subsided in a moment, and witchcraft was heard of in that town no more. The impression was quickly diffused throughout the province; and the influence of it appeared at the very next assize that was held for the trial of witchcraft, when, of fifty prisoners who were tried on such evidence as was formerly deemed sufficient, the accusers could obtain the conviction of no more than three, who were instantly reprieved by the governor. These acquittals were doubtless in part produced by a change which the public opinion underwent as to the sufficiency of what was denominated *spectral evidence* of witchcraft.

An assembly of the most eminent divines of the province, convoked for the purpose by the governor [June 15th, 1693], after solemn consideration, pronounced and promulgated as

their deliberate judgment, "That the apparitions of persons afflicting others was no proof of their being witches," and that it was by no means inconsistent with Scripture or reason that the devil should assume the shape of a good man, or even cause the real aspect of that man to produce impressions of pain on the bodies of persons bewitched. The ministers, nevertheless, united in strongly recommending to the government the rigorous prosecution of all persons still accused of witchcraft. But the judgment they pronounced respecting the validity of the customary evidence rendered it almost impossible to procure a judicial conviction; and produced, at the same time, so complete a revolution in the public mind respecting the late executions, that charges of witchcraft were found to excite no other sentiments than deep disgust, and angry suspicion of the parties who preferred them. The dark cloud that had overcast the peace and happiness of the colony vanished entirely away, — and universal shame and remorse succeeded to the frenzy that previously prevailed. Even those who continued to believe in the reality of the diabolical influence of which the accusers had complained, were satisfied that most, if not all, of the unfortunate convicts were unjustly condemned, and that their accusers, in charging them, were deluded by the same infernal agency by which their sufferings were occasioned. Many of the witnesses now came forward and published the most solemn recantations of the testimony they formerly gave, both against themselves and others; apologizing for their perjury, by a protestation, of which all were constrained to admit the force, that no other means of saving their lives had been left to them. These testimonies were not able to shake the opinion which was still retained by a considerable party both among the late accusers and the public at large, that the recent malady was caused in part by real witchcraft, whether the real culprits had yet been detected or not. This opinion was supported in learned¹ treatises by Dr. Mather and other eminent divines. But it was found impossible ever after to reiterate prosecutions that excited such painful remembrances, and had been rendered instrumental to so much

¹ "Here learning, blinded first, and then beguiled,
Looks dark as ignorance, as frenzy wild." — Savage.

barbarity and injustice. Sir William Phips, soon after he reprieved the three persons last convicted, gave order that all who were in custody on charges of witchcraft should be released; and, with prevenient dread of the dissensions that might arise from retributory proceedings against the accusers and their witnesses, he proclaimed a general pardon to all persons for any participation imputable to them in the recent prosecutions. The surviving sufferers from those persecutions, however, and the relatives of those who had perished, were enabled to enjoy whatever consolation they could derive from the sympathy of their countrymen and the earnest regret of their persecutors.

The House of Assembly appointed a general fast and solemn supplication, "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments." Sewell, one of the judges who had presided on the trials at Salem, stood up in his place in church on this occasion,¹ and implored the prayers of the people that the errors which he had committed might not be visited by the judgments of an avenging God on his country, his family, or himself. Many of the jurymen subscribed and published a declaration lamenting and condemning the delusion to which they had yielded, and acknowledging that they had brought the reproach of wrongful bloodshed on their native land. Paris, the clergyman who instituted the first prosecutions and promoted all the rest, found himself exposed to a resentment not loud or violent, but fixed and deep; and was at length generally shunned by his fellow-citizens, and entirely forsaken by his congregation. He appears, throughout the whole proceedings, to have acted with perfect sincerity, but to have been transported by a violent temper, and a strong conviction of the rightfulness of the ends he pursued, into the adoption of means for their attainment, inconsistent with honor, justice, or humanity. While the delusion lasted, his violence

¹ When Stoughton, the deputy-governor and chief justice, was informed of this, he "observed for himself, that when he sat in judgment he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding; and although it might appear afterwards that he had been in error, yet he saw no necessity of a public acknowledgment of it." — Hutchinson.

was applauded as zeal in a righteous cause, and little heed was given to accusations of artifice and partiality in conducting what was believed to be a controversy with the devil. But when it appeared that all these efforts had in reality been directed to the shedding of innocent blood, his popularity gave place to incurable odium and disgust. [1694.] Perceiving, too late, how dreadfully he had erred, he hastened to make a public profession of repentance, and solemnly begged forgiveness of God and man. But as the people declared their fixed resolution never more to attend the ministry of an individual who had been the instrument of misery and ruin to so many of their countrymen, he was obliged to resign his charge and depart from Salem.¹

Thus terminated a scene of fury and delusion that justly excited the astonishment of the civilized world, and exhibited a fearful picture of the weakness of human nature in the sudden transformation of a people renowned over all the earth for piety and virtue into the slaves or associates, the terrified dupes or helpless prey, of a band of ferocious lunatics and assassins. Among the various evil consequences that resulted from the preceding events, not the least important was the effect they produced on the minds of the Indian tribes, who began to conceive a very unfavorable opinion of a people that could inflict such barbarities on their own countrymen, and of a religion that seemed to instigate its professors to their mutual destruction. This impression was the more disadvantageous to the colonists, as there had existed for some time a competition between their missionaries and the priests of the French settlements, for the conversion of the Indians,² who invariably

¹ Mather, *Life of Sir William Phips*. Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits*. Neal. Hutchinson. Calef's *Wonders of the Invisible World*. Oldmixon. "I find these entries in the MS. *Diary of Judge Sewell*: 'Went to Salem, where, in the meeting-house, the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; a very great assembly. 'T was awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated.' But in the margin is written, in a tremulous hand, probably on a subsequent review, the lamenting Latin interjection, *Væ, væ, væ!*" Holmes. "It is likely," says Wynne, "that this frenzy contributed to work off the ill-humors of the New England people,—to dissipate their bigotry,—and to bring them to a more free use of their reason."

² It was a very corrupted edition of Christianity that the French priests unfolded to the Indians,—a system that harmonized too well with the passions and sentiments which genuine Christianity most strongly condemns. By rites

embraced the political interests of that nation whose religious instructors were most popular among them. The French did not fail to improve to their own advantage the odious spectacle that the late frenzy of the people of New England had exhibited ; and to this end they labored with such diligence and success, that in the following year, when Sir William Phips paid a visit to the tribes with whom he had concluded the treaty of Pemmaquid, and endeavoured to unite them in a solid and lasting friendship with his own people, he found them more firmly wedded than ever to the interests of the French, and prepossessed with sentiments unfavorable in the highest degree to the formation of friendly relations with the English. To his proposition of renewing the treaty of peace they readily agreed ; but all the urgency which he exerted to induce them to desist from their correspondence with the French proved unavailing. They refused to listen to the missionaries who accompanied him ; having learned from the French priests to believe that the English were heretics, and enemies to the true religion of Christ. Some of them, with blunt sincerity, acquainted Phips, that, since they had received the instructions of the French, witchcraft had lost all perceptible existence among their tribes, and that they desired not to recall its presence by familiar intercourse with a people among whom it was reputed to prevail still more extensively than it had ever yet done with themselves.¹

There were not wanting signs foreboding the renewal of war between the colonists and the Indians, which accordingly broke out very soon after,—and was perhaps accelerated by the departure of Sir William Phips from New England. The administration of this officer, though in the main highly and justly popular, had not escaped some share of reproach. The discontents excited by the taxation imposed for the support of

and devices, material and yet mysterious, it brought some portion of the spiritual doctrine of Christianity within the range of the coarse capacity of the Indians, and facilitated the transition from their ancient and peculiar mode of superstition and idolatry ; while, by stigmatizing their enemies as heretics, it afforded additional sanction and incitement to hatred, fury, and cruelty. The French priests who ministered amongst the Indians were Jesuits ; and their maxim, that it was unnecessary to keep faith with heretics, proved but too congenial to the savage ethics of their pupils.

¹ Neal.

the fortification at Pemmaquid, combining with the resentments and enmities which the prosecutions for witchcraft gave rise to, produced a party in the province who labored on every occasion to thwart the measures and vilify the character of the governor. Finding their exertions in Massachusetts insufficient to deprive him of the esteem which a great majority of the people entertained for him, his political enemies transmitted articles of impeachment against him to England, and petitioned the king and council for his recall and punishment. King William having declared that he would hear and judge the controversy himself, an order was communicated to the governor to meet his accusers in the royal presence at Whitehall ; in compliance with which, Phips set sail for England [November, 1694], carrying with him an address of the assembly expressive of the strongest attachment to his person, and beseeching that the province might not be deprived of the services of so able and meritorious an officer. On his appearance at court, his accusers vanished, and their charges were dismissed ; and having rendered a satisfactory account of his administration, he was preparing to return to his government, when a malignant fever put an end to his life. [February, 1695.] As a soldier, Phips, if not preëminently skilful, was active and brave ; as a civil ruler, he was upright, magnanimous, and disinterested. It was remarked of him, as of Aristides, that, with a constant and generous underbearing of his fortune, *he was never visibly elated by any mark of honor or confidence that he received from his countrymen* ; nor could all his success and advancement ever make him ashamed to recall the humbleness of his original condition. In the midst of a fleet that was conveying an armament which he commanded on a military expedition, he addressed himself to some young soldiers and sailors who were standing on the deck of his vessel, and, pointing to a particular spot on the shore, said, “ Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago ; — you see to what advancement Almighty God has brought me ; do you, then, learn to fear God and act uprightly ; and you also may rise as I have done.” His natural temper was somewhat hasty and impetuous ; and the occasional ebullitions of this infirmity, which his elevated station rendered

more conspicuous, contributed, with the other causes which we have remarked, to attain the lustre of his reputation.¹

On the departure of Sir William Phips, the supreme authority in Massachusetts devolved on Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor [1695], who continued to exercise it during the three following years; the king being so much engrossed with his wars and negotiations on the continent of Europe, that it was not till after the peace of Ryswick that he found leisure even to nominate a successor to Phips. During this period, the colony was much disturbed by internal dissension, and harassed by the dangers and calamities of war. The passions bequeathed by the prosecutions for witchcraft (which Stoughton had zealously promoted) continued long to divide and agitate the people; and the political factions which sprung up during the administration of Phips prevailed with increased virulence after his departure. The mutual animosities of the colonists attained such a height, that they seemed to be on the point of kindling a civil war; and the operations of the provincial government were cramped and obstructed at the very time when the utmost exertions of vigor and unanimity were requisite to encounter the hostile enterprises of the French and the Indians. [June, 1695.] Incited by their French allies, the Indians recommenced the war with all the suddenness and fury of their military operations. Wherever surprise or superior numbers enabled them to prevail over parties of the colonists, or detached plantations, their victory was signalized by the extremities of barbarous cruelty.² The colony of

¹ Mather, *Life of Sir William Phips*. Neal. Constantine, son of Sir William Phips, became Lord Chancellor of Ireland; and his descendants have since enjoyed the titles of Earl of Mulgrave and Marquis of Normanby in Britain.

² Numerous cases are related by the provincial historians of the torture and slavery inflicted by the Indians on their captives, and of the desperate efforts of many of the colonists to defend themselves and their families, or to escape from the hands of their savage enemies. Wherever the Indians could penetrate, war was carried into the bosom of every family. The case of a Mrs. Dunstan, of Haverhill, in Massachusetts, is remarkable. She was made prisoner by a party of twelve Indians, and, with the infant of which she had been delivered but a week before, and the nurse who attended her, forced to accompany them on foot into the woods. Her infant's head was dashed to pieces on a tree before her eyes; and she and the nurse, after fatiguing marches in the depth of winter, were lodged in an Indian hut, a hundred and fifty miles from their home. Here they were informed that they were to be made slaves for life, but were first to be conducted to a distant settlement, where they would be stripped, scourged, and forced to run the gantlet, naked,

Acadia, or Nova Scotia, once more reverted to the dominion of France. It had been annexed, as we have seen, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and governed hitherto by officers deputed from the seat of the superior authority at Boston. But Port Royal (or Annapolis, as it was afterwards termed) having been now recaptured by a French armament, the whole settlement revolted, and reannexed itself to the French empire, — a change that was ratified by the subsequent treaty of Ryswick.

A much more serious loss was sustained by Massachusetts in the following year, when, in consequence of a combined assault by the French and Indians, the fort erected by Sir William Phips at Pemmaquid was compelled to surrender to their arms, and was levelled with the ground. [1696.] Chubb, the commander of this fort, at first replied to the summons of the invaders, that *he would not surrender it, even though the sea were covered with French vessels, and the land with Indian allies of France*; and the capitulation to which he finally acceded was extorted from him by the terror of his garrison, to whom the French commander announced, that, in case of a successful assault, they would be abandoned to the rage of his Indian auxiliaries. This severe and unexpected blow spread equal surprise and consternation; and the alarming consciousness of the danger, imparted by the loss of a barrier of such consequence, rebuked in the strongest manner the factious discontent that had murmured at the expense of maintaining it. These apprehensions were but too well justified by the increased ravages of Indian warfare, and the increased insolence and fury with which a triumph so signal inspired the Indian tribes. Stoughton and his council exerted the utmost promptitude and vigor to repair or retaliate the disaster, and

between two files of the whole tribe to which their captors belonged. This intelligence determined Mrs. Dunstan to make an attempt that would issue either in her liberation or her death. Early in the morning, having awaked her nurse, and a young man who was their fellow-prisoner, she got possession of an axe, and, with the assistance of her two companions, despatched no fewer than ten Indians in their sleep. The other two awoke and escaped. Mrs. Dunstan returned in safety with her companions to Haverhill, and was rewarded for her intrepidity by the legislature of Massachusetts. — *Dwight's Travels.*

Whatever other cruelties the Indians might exercise on the bodies of their captives, it is observable that they never attempted to violate the chastity of women. They showed a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them whenever they fell into their hands. — Belknap.

despatched forces to attack the enemy both by land and sea ; but miscarriage attended both these expeditions ; and, at the close of the year, the provincial troops had been unable, by the slightest advantage, to check the assaults of the enemy, or to cheer the drooping spirits of their countrymen.

In the following year [1697¹], the province, after being severely harassed by the inroads of the Indians, was alarmed by the intelligence of a formidable invasion which the French were preparing, with a view to its entire subjugation. The commander of a French squadron which was cruising on the northern coasts of America had concerted with Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, a joint attack by sea and land, with the whole united force of the French and Indians, on the colony of Massachusetts ; and little doubt was entertained of the conquest of this people, and the complete destruction of their settlements. On the first intelligence of this design, all the dauntless and determined spirit of New England seemed again to awake ; and, factious animosities being swallowed up by more generous passion, the people vied with each other in zealous coöperation with the energetic measures by which Stoughton prepared to repel the threatened assault. He caused the forts around Boston to be repaired, the whole militia of the province to be embodied and trained with the strictest discipline, and every other precaution conducive to an effectual defence to be promptly employed. In order to ascertain, and, if possible, anticipate, the operations of the enemy by land, he despatched a considerable force to scour the eastern frontiers of the province ; and these troops, encountering a detachment of the Indians, proceeding to join the French invaders, overthrew and dispersed it, after a short engagement. This check, though in itself of little importance, so deranged the plans of the governor of Canada as to induce him to defer the invasion of Massachusetts by land till the following year ; and the French admiral, finding his fleet weakened by a storm,

¹ In the midst of these troubles, died, this year, full of days and honor, the venerable Simon Bradstreet, the last survivor of the original planters, — for many years governor of Massachusetts, — and termed by his countrymen the Nestor of New England. He died in his ninety-fifth year, earnestly desiring to be at rest, — inasmuch (says Cotton Mather) that it seemed as if death were conferred upon him, instead of life being taken from him.

and apprized of the vigorous preparations for his reception, judged it prudent, in like manner, to abandon the projected naval attack. During the whole of this protracted contest, Connecticut and Rhode Island, though exempted from territorial ravage, shared in the burdens of war. Connecticut, in particular, was distinguished by the promptitude and liberality of the succours which she extended to the warfare of her friends, both in the eastern parts of New England and on the frontiers of New York.¹

In the commencement of the following year [1698], intelligence reached America of the treaty of Ryswick, by which peace was reëstablished between Britain and France. By this treaty it was agreed that the two contracting powers should mutually restore to each other all conquests that had been made during the war, and that commissioners should be appointed to investigate and determine the extent and limits of the adjacent territories of both monarchs in America. The evil consequences of thus leaving the boundaries of growing settlements unascertained were sensibly experienced at no distant date.

Count Frontignac, on receiving notice of this treaty, acquainted the chiefs of the Indian tribes, whose martial coöperation he had obtained, that he could no longer assist or countenance their hostilities against the English, and advised them to deliver up their captives, and make peace on the best terms they could obtain. The government of Massachusetts, to which their pacific overtures were addressed, sent two commissioners to Penobscot to meet their principal sachems, who endeavoured to apologize for their unprovoked hostilities by ascribing them to the artifice and instigation of the French Jesuits. They expressed, at the same time, the highest esteem, and even a filial regard, for Count Frontignac, and an earnest desire, that, in case of any future war between the French and English, the Indians might be permitted to observe a neutrality between the belligerent parties. After some conferences, a new treaty was concluded with them, in which they consented to acknowledge a more unqualified dependence on the crown of England than they had ever before admitted.

¹ Mather. Neal. *History of the British Dominions in North America.* Trumbull. Holmes.

On the settlement of his affairs in Europe, the British king found leisure to direct some portion of his attention to America, and nominate a successor to the office that had been vacant since the death of Sir William Phips. The Earl of Bellamont was appointed governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. [May, 1698.] The office of deputy-governor of the two latter States was bestowed by this nobleman on Stoughton, whose recent services and disinterested patriotism effaced the jealousy with which at one time he was regarded by his countrymen, for having accepted a seat in the legislative council of New England during the arbitrary sway of Sir Edmund Andros.¹

Having pursued the separate history of the New England States up to this period, we shall now leave these interesting settlements in the enjoyment (unhappily, too short-lived) of a peace, whereof a long train of previous warfare and distresses had taught the inhabitants fully to appreciate the value. They were now more united than ever among themselves, and enriched with an ample stock of experience of both good and evil. When Lord Bellamont visited Massachusetts in the following year [1699], the recent heats and animosities had entirely subsided; he found the inhabitants generally disposed to harmony and tranquillity, and he contributed to cherish this disposition by a policy replete with wisdom, integrity, and moderation. The virtue that so signally distinguished the original settlers of New England was now seen to shine forth among their descendants with a lustre less dazzling, but with an influence in some respects more amiable, refined, and humane, than attended its original display.

One of the causes, perhaps, that conduced to the restoration of harmony and the revival of piety among this people, was

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Belknap. Stoughton died in the year 1702. As the colonial agent in England, he had tendered advice that proved unacceptable to his countrymen; as a member of the grand council of Andros, he had occupied a post which they regarded with aversion; and as lieutenant-governor, he had promoted the odious prosecutions for witchcraft. Yet his repute for honest and disinterested patriotism finally prevailed over all the obstructions of these untoward circumstances; and a bright reversion of honor attended the close of his life. "Instead of children," says Hutchinson, "he saw before his death a college reared at his expense, which took the name of Stoughton Hall, and will transmit a grateful remembrance of his name to succeeding ages."

the publication of various histories¹ of the New England settlements, written with a spirit and fidelity well calculated to commend to the minds of the colonists the just results of their national experience. The subject was deeply interesting; and, happily, the treatment of it was undertaken by writers whose principal object was to render this interest subservient to the promotion of piety and virtue.

Though New England might be considered as yet in a state of political infancy, it had passed through a great variety of fortune. It was the adopted country of many of the most excellent men of the age in which its colonization began, and the native land of others who inherited the character of their ancestors, and transmitted it in unimpaired vigor and with added renown. The history of man never exhibited an effort of more resolute and enterprising virtue than the original migration of the Puritans to this distant and desolate region; nor have the annals of colonization ever supplied another instance of the foundation of a commonwealth, and its advancement through a period of weakness and danger to strength and security, in which the principal actors have left behind them a reputation more illustrious and unsullied, together with fewer memorials calculated to pervert the moral sense or awaken the regret of mankind. The relation of their achievements had a powerful tendency to animate hope and perseverance in brave and virtuous enterprise. They could not, indeed, boast, as the founders of the settlement of Pennsylvania have done, that, openly professing non-resistance of injuries, and faithfully adhering to that pro-

¹ Of these productions two of the earliest in point of composition were Governor Bradford's *History of the Colony of Plymouth*, and Governor Winthrop's *Journal of Events in New England*. But neither of these was published till more than a century after. The conclusion of Winthrop's *Journal* was not published till the year 1826.

A voluminous history of New England was composed by William Hubbard, a Puritan clergyman; but never having been published, it is known only to scholars. It is frequently referred to as an authority by other New England historians. The author was rewarded for his labors by the following order of the General Court of Massachusetts, in the year 1682:—"Whereas it has been thought necessary, and a duty incumbent upon us, to take due notice of all occurrences and passages of God's providence towards the people of this jurisdiction which may remain to posterity, and that the Rev. Mr. William Hubbard hath taken pains to compile a history of this nature, the Court doth with thankfulness acknowledge his labor, and hereby orders the treasurer to pay him fifty pounds; he transcribing the work fairly into a book, that it may be the more easily perused."—Eliot's *New England Biography*.

fession, they had so fully merited and obtained the divine protection by an exclusive dependence on it, as to disarm the ferocity of barbarians, and conduct the establishment of their commonwealth without violence and bloodshed. But if they were involved in numerous wars, it was the singular and honorable characteristic of them all, that they were invariably the offspring of self-defence against the unprovoked malevolence of their adversaries, and that not one of them was undertaken from motives of conquest or plunder. Though they considered these wars as necessary and justifiable, they sincerely deplored them; and, more than once, the most distressing doubts were expressed, at the close of their hostilities, if it were lawful for Christians to press even the natural right of self-defence to such fatal extremity. They behaved to the Indian tribes with as much good faith and justice as they could have shown to a powerful and civilized people,¹ and were incited by the manifest inferiority of those savage neighbours to no other acts than a series of the most magnanimous and laudable endeavours to instruct their ignorance and improve their condition. If they fell short of the colonists of Pennsylvania in the exhibition of Christian meekness, they unquestionably excelled them in extent and activity of Christian exertion. The Quakers succeeded in conciliating the Indians; the Puritans endeavoured to civilize them.

The chief, if not the only fault, with which impartial history

¹ Not only was all the territory occupied by the colonists fairly purchased from its Indian owners, but, in some parts of the country, the lands were subject to quitrents to the Indians, "which," says Belknap, in 1784, "are annually paid to their posterity." A great English writer has represented an Indian chief as moralizing on the policy and pretensions of the European colonists in the following strains:—"Others pretend to have purchased a right of residence and tyranny; but surely the insolence of such bargains is more offensive than the avowed and open dominion of force." Dr. Johnson's *Idler*. The Indians, indeed, were no strangers to such sentiments. Beholding with ignorant wonder and helpless envy the augmented value which the lands they had sold derived from the industry and skill of the purchasers, they very readily admitted the belief that they had been defrauded in the original vendition. But abundant evidence has been preserved by the New England historians, that the prices paid by the colonists, so far from being lower, were in general much higher than the just value of the land.

I am sorry to observe some modern (even American) writers indulge a spirit of perverse paradox in palliating and even defending the conduct of the Indians at the expense of the first race of British colonists, who in reality treated the Indians with an equity which succeeding generations would do better literally to imitate than captiously to depreciate. The new historian of already recorded times ought diligently to guard at once against the force of prejudice and the effects of novelty.

must ever reproach the conduct of these people, is the religious intolerance that they cherished, and the persecution, which, on too many occasions, it prompted them to inflict. Happily for their own character, the provocation which in some instances they received from the objects of their severity tended greatly to extenuate the blame ; and happily, no less, for the legitimate influence of their character on the minds of their posterity, the fault itself, notwithstanding every extenuation, stood so manifestly opposed to the very principles with which their own fame was for ever associated, that it was impossible for a writer of common integrity, not involved in the immediate heat of controversy, to render a just tribute to their excellence, without finding himself obliged to remark and condemn this signal departure from it. The histories that were now published were the compositions of the friends, associates, and successors of the original colonists. Written with an energy of just encomium that elevated every man's ideas of his ancestors and his country, and of the duties which arose from these natural or patriotic relations, these works excited universally a generous sympathy with the characters and sentiments of the fathers of New England. The writers, nevertheless, were too conscientious and too enlightened to confound the virtues with the defects of the character they described ; and while they dwelt apologetically on the causes by which persecution had been provoked, they lamented the infirmity that (under any degree of provocation) had betrayed good men into conduct so oppressive and unchristian. Even Cotton Mather, the most encomiastic of the historians of New England, and who cherished very strong prejudices against the Quakers and other persecuted sectaries, has expressed still stronger disapprobation of the severities they encountered from the objects of his encomium. These representations could not fail to produce a beneficial effect on the people of New England. They saw that the glory of their native land was associated with principles that could never coalesce with or sanction intolerance ; and that every instance of persecution with which their annals were stained was a dereliction of those principles, and an impeachment of their country's claim to the admiration of mankind. Inspired with the warmest attachment to the memory, and the highest respect for

the virtue, of their ancestors, they were forcibly admonished, by the errors into which they had fallen, to suspect and repress in themselves those erring sentiments from which even virtue of so high an order had not afforded exemption. From this time the religious zeal of the people of New England was no longer perverted by intolerance or disgraced by persecution ; and the influence of Christianity, in mitigating enmity and promoting kindness and indulgence, derived a freer scope from the growing conviction that the principles of the gospel were utterly irreconcilable with violence and severity ; and that, revealing to every man his own infirmity much more clearly than that of any other human being, they were equally adverse to confidence in himself and to condemnation of others. Cotton Mather, who recorded and reproved the errors of the first colonists, lived to witness the success of his monitory representations in the charity and liberality of their descendants.¹

New England, having been colonized by men not less eminent for learning than piety, was distinguished at an early period by the labors of her scholars and the dedication of her literature to the nurture of religious sentiment and principle. The theological works of John Cotton, Hooker, the two Mathers, and other New England divines, have always enjoyed a high degree of esteem and popularity, not only in New England, but in every Protestant country of Europe. The annals of the various States, and the biography of their founders, were written by contemporary historians with a minuteness which was

¹ A discourse, which he published some years after this period, contains the following passage : — “ In this capital city of Boston there are ten assemblies of Christians of different persuasions, who live so lovingly and peaceably together, doing all the offices of neighbourhood for one another in such a manner, as may give a sensible rebuke to all the bigots of uniformity, and show them how consistent a variety of rites in religion may be with the tranquillity of human society ; and may demonstrate to the world that persecution for conscientious dissents in religion is an *abomination of desolation*, a thing whereof all wise and just men will say, ‘ Cursed be its anger, for it is fierce, and its wrath, for it is cruel.’ ” *Neal’s Present State of New England*. The first Episcopal society was formed in Massachusetts in 1686 (before the arrival of Andros) ; and the first Episcopal chapel was erected at Boston in 1688. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. A Quaker meeting-house was built at Boston in 1710. *Ibid.* Mass was performed for the first time in Boston, by a Roman Catholic priest, in 1788. Holmes. “ It is remarkable,” says the writer, “ that the same church, which was originally built [at Boston] for French Protestants who had fled from the persecution of the Roman Catholics, was the first to receive the Roman Catholics who fled from the persecution of the Jacobins of France.”

very agreeable and interesting to the first generation of their readers, and to which the writers were prompted, in some measure at least, by the conviction they entertained that their countrymen had been honored with the signal favor and especial guidance and direction of Divine Providence. This conviction, while it naturally betrayed these writers into the fault of prolixity, enforced by the strongest sanctions the accuracy and fidelity of their narrations. Recording what they considered the peculiar dealings of God with a people peculiarly his own, they presumed not to disguise the infirmities of their countrymen ; nor did they desire to magnify the divine grace in the infusion of human virtue beyond the divine patience in enduring human frailty and imperfection. Nay, the errors and failings of the illustrious men whose lives they related gave additional weight to the impression which above all they desired to convey, that the colonization of New England was an extraordinary work of Heaven ; that the counsel and the virtue by which it was conducted and achieved were not of human origin ; and that the glory of God was displayed no less in imparting the strength and wisdom than in controlling the weakness and perversity of the instruments which he condescended to employ.¹

The most considerable of these historical works, and one of the most interesting performances that the literature of New England has ever produced, is the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or History of New England, by Cotton Mather. Of this work, the arrangement is exceedingly faulty ; and its vast bulk must continue to render its exterior increasingly repulsive to modern readers. The continuity of the narrative is frequently broken by the introduction of long discourses, epistles, and theological reflections and dissertations ; biography is intermixed with history ; and events of local

¹ " If we look on the dark side, the human side, of this work, there is much of human weakness and imperfection hath appeared in all that hath been done by man, as was acknowledged by our fathers before us. Neither was New England ever without some fatherly chastisements from God ; showing that he is not fond of the formalities of any people upon earth, but expects the realities of practical godliness according to our profession and engagement unto him." — Higginson's *Attestation*, prefixed to Cotton Mather's *History*. " To vindicate the errors of our ancestors," says Jefferson, " is to make them our own."

or temporary interest are related with tedious superfluity of detail. It is not so properly a single or continuous historical narration, as a collection of separate works illustrative of the various scenes of New England history, under the heads of *Remarkable Providences*, *Remarkable Trials*, and numberless other subdivisions. [A plentiful intermixture of puns, anagrams, and other barbarous conceits, exemplifies a peculiarity (the offspring partly of bad taste and partly of superstition) which was very prevalent among the prose-writers, and especially the theologians, of that age. Notwithstanding these defects, the work will amply repay the labor of every reader. The biographical portions, in particular, possess the highest excellence, and are superior in dignity and interest to the compositions of Plutarch. Cotton Mather was the author of a great many other works,¹ some of which have been highly popular and eminently useful. One of them bears the title of *Essays to do Good*, and contains a lively and forcible representation (conveyed with more brevity than the author usually exemplifies) of the opportunities which every rank and every relation of human life may present to a devout mind, of promoting the glory of God and the good of mankind. Dr. Franklin, in the latter years of his active and useful life, declared that all the good he had ever done to his country or his fellow-creatures must be ascribed to the impression produced on his mind by perusing that little work in his youth.² It is curious to find an infidel philosopher thus ascribe his own practical wisdom to the lessons of a Christian

¹ His biographers have given us a catalogue of his works, amounting to no fewer than *three hundred and eighty-two*, — many, no doubt, of small dimensions, but others of considerable bulk. He was a singular economist of time, and at once the most voluminous and popular writer and the most zealous and active minister of his age. Among his manuscripts was a theological work which he had prepared for publication, and which is reported to have been "enough constantly to employ a man, unless he be a miracle of diligence, the half of the threescore years and ten allowed us." Holmes. In conversation he is said to have particularly excelled: — "Here it was seen how his wit and fancy, his invention, his quickness of thought, and ready apprehension were all consecrated to God, as well as his will and affections." Ibid. Above his study door was inscribed this impressive admonition to his visitors, "*Be short.*" He was the son of Dr. Increase Mather. Born in 1663, he died in 1727. From President Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, it appears to me, much more clearly than agreeably, that, in the instance of Cotton Mather as well as of his father, a strong and acute understanding, though united with real piety, was sometimes corrupted by a deep vein of passionate vanity and absurdity.

² Franklin's *Works*.

divine, and trace the stream of his beneficence to the fountain of the gospel.

History and divinity were the chief, but not the only, subjects which exercised the labors of the scholars of New England. John Sherman, an eminent Puritan divine, who was one of the first emigrants from Britain to Massachusetts, where he died in 1685, obtained a high and just renown as a mathematician and astronomer. He left at his death a large manuscript collection of astronomical calculations ; and for several years published an almanac, which was interspersed with pious reflections and admonitions.¹

A traveller, who visited Boston in the year 1686, mentions several booksellers there who had already made fortunes by their trade. The learned and ingenious author of the *History of Printing in America* has given a catalogue of the works published by the first New England printers in the seventeenth century. Considering the circumstances and numbers of the people, the catalogue is amazingly copious. One of the printers of that age was an Indian, the son of one of the first Indian converts.²

The education and habits of the people of New England prepared them to receive the full force of those impressions which their national literature was fitted to produce. In no country have the benefits of knowledge been ever more highly prized or more generally diffused. Institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the foundation of the first provincial community, and were propagated with every accession to the population and every extension of the settlements. Education was facilitated in New England by the peculiar manner in which its colonization was conducted. In many other parts of America, the planters dispersed themselves over the face of the country ; each residing on his own farm, and, in choosing the spot where his house was to be placed, guided merely by considerations of agricultural convenience. The advantages resulting from this mode of inhabitation were gained at the expense of such dispersion of dwellings as rendered it difficult to fix upon proper spots for the erection of churches

¹ Eliot's *New England Biography*.

² Dunton's *Life and Errors*. Thomas's *History of Printing in America*.

and schools, and obstructed the enjoyment of social intercourse. But the colonization of New England was conducted in a manner much more favorable to the improvement of human character and manners. All the original townships were formed in what is termed in America *the village manner*; ¹ the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in societies, from regard to the ordinances of religion and the convenience of education. Every town containing fifty householders was obliged by law to provide a schoolmaster qualified to teach reading and writing; and every town containing a hundred householders, to maintain a grammar school.² But the generous ardor of the people continually outstripped the provisions of this law. We have seen Harvard College arise in Massachusetts within a few years after the foundation of the colony was laid.³ With allusion to the flourishing and efficient condition of this seminary, Lord Bellamont, the provincial governor, in an address to the General Court, in 1699, remarked, "It is a very great advantage you have above other provinces, that your youth are not put to travel for learning, but have the Muses at their doors." The other States, for some time after, were destitute of the wealth and population necessary to support similar establishments within their own territories; but they frequently assessed themselves in the most liberal contributions for the maintenance and enlargement of Harvard College. The contributions, even at a very early period, of Connecticut, New Haven, and New Hampshire have been particularly and deservedly noted for their liberality.⁴ The close of the same century was illustrated by the establishment of Yale College in Connecticut. So high was the repute which this quarter of North America long continued to enjoy for the moral excellence and intellectual efficiency of its seminaries of education, that many respectable persons, both in the other American States and in Europe, and even some of patrician rank and lineage in Britain, sent their children to be educated in New England.⁵

¹ Dwight's *Travels*.

² *Abridgment of the Laws of New England*. Neal.

³ See Note XIV., at the end of the volume.

⁴ Trumbull. Belknap.

⁵ *History of the British Dominions in America*. Peirce's and Quincy's *Histories of Harvard University*. In aid of the library of Yale College, copies of their works were contributed by the most illustrious writers in England; and

A general appetite for knowledge and a universal familiarity with letters were thus maintained from the beginning of their national existence among the New England colonists. The rigid discouragement of frivolous amusements, and of every recreation that bordered upon vice, tended to devote their leisure hours to reading ; and the sentiments and opinions derived through this avenue of knowledge sunk deeply into vigorous and undissipated minds. The historical retrospections of this people were peculiarly calculated to exercise a favorable influence on their character and turn of thinking, by awakening a generous emulation, and connecting them with a uniform and progressive course of manly, patient, and successful virtue.

Notwithstanding the general diffusion of knowledge among the early colonists of New England, the lower classes of the people were not entirely exempt from the prevalent delusions of the age. In particular, the notion, then generally received in the parent state, and consecrated by a special office long retained in her church liturgy, of the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of the disorder called the king's evil, was imported into New England, to the great inconvenience of those victims of the malady who were so unhappy as to entertain it. Belknap has transcribed from the records of the town of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the petition of an inhabitant to the assembly of this province, in the year 1687, for assistance to undertake a journey to England, that he might be cured of his disease by coming in contact with a king ;¹ a circumstance which Heaven (it may be hoped) has decreed a perpetual impossibility within the confines of North America.

The amount of the population of New England at the present era has been very differently estimated by different writers. According to Sir William Petty, the number of inhabitants amounted, in the year 1691, to one hundred and fifty thousand.² A much lower computation is adopted by Neal ; and a much higher by a later historian.³ The population, it is certain, had been considerably augmented, both by the emigration of Dis-

among others by Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Richard Steele, Bishop Burnet, Dr. Woodward, Dr. Halley, Dr. Bentley, Calamy, Henry, and Whiston. — Holmes.

¹ Belknap. Smollett's *History of England*.

² *Political Arithmetic*.

³ *History of the British Dominions in North America*.

senters from various of the European states, and by domestic propagation in circumstances so favorable to increase. Yet no quarter of North America has had its own population so extensively drained by emigration as New England, which, from a very early period of its history, has continually furnished swarms of hardy, sober, intelligent, enterprising, and educated men to recruit and improve every successive settlement that has offered its resources to industry and virtue. The severe restraint of licentious intercourse, the facility of acquiring property and maintaining a family, and the prevalence of industrious and frugal habits among all classes of people combined with happy efficacy to render marriages both frequent and prolific in New England. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and during many years the largest town in North America, appears to have contained a population of more than ten thousand persons at the close of this century. In the year 1720, its inhabitants amounted to twenty thousand. Every inhabitant of the province was required by law to keep a stock of arms and ammunition in his house ; and all males above sixteen years of age were enrolled in the militia, which was assembled for exercise four times a year.¹

The whole territory of New England was comprehended at this period in four jurisdictions, — Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. To Massachusetts there were annexed the settlements of New Plymouth and Maine, and to Connecticut that of New Haven. The territories of these governments were divided into constituted districts called townships, each of which was represented by one or two deputies (according to the number of freeholders) in the assembly of the State to which it belonged. Besides this elective franchise, the freeholders of each township enjoyed the right of appointing the municipal officers denominated selectmen, by whom the domestic government of the township was exercised. The qualification of a freeholder in Massachusetts was declared by its charter to be an estate of the value of forty shillings *per annum*, or the possession of personal property to the amount of fifty pounds ; communion with the Congregational churches having ceased to be requisite to the enjoy-

¹ Neal.

ment of political privileges. In the other States of New England, the qualification was nearly the same as in Massachusetts. The expenses of government were defrayed originally by temporary assessments, to which every man was rated according to the value of his whole property ; but since the year 1645, excises, imposts, and poll taxes were in use. The judicial procedure in the provincial courts was conducted with great expedition, cheapness, and simplicity. In all trials by jury in New England, whether of civil or criminal causes, the juries were not, as in Britain, nominated by the sheriffs, but elected by the inhabitants ; and these elections were conducted with the strictest precautions for preventing the intrusion of partiality or corruption.¹

Massachusetts and New Hampshire—the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered municipal constitution—were the only two provinces of New England in which the superior officers of the domestic government were appointed by the crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in council. As New Hampshire was too inconsiderable to support the substance as well as the title of a separate government, it was the practice at this period, and for some time after, to appoint the same person to be governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the Court of Admiralty) were elected by the inhabitants ; and so resolutely was this highly valued privilege defended, that, when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut militia, the province refused to acknowledge his authority.² It was not provided by the charters of these States that their laws should be subject to the negative, or the judgments of their tribunals to the review, of the king. But the validity of their laws was declared to depend on a very uncertain criterion,—a conformity, as close as circumstances would admit, to the jurisprudence of England.³ So perfectly democratic were the

¹ *History of the British Dominions in North America.* Wynne's *History of British America.*

² Wynne. Trumbull. Book V., Chap. II., *post.*

³ There were no prescribed or customary means of ascertaining this conformity ; these States not being obliged, like Massachusetts, to transmit their

constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to withhold his formal sanction from the resolutions of the assembly. The spirit of liberty was not suppressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the provincial assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the royal governor was never able to create more than a very inconsiderable royalist party in this State. The functionaries whom he or whom the crown appointed depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their offices; and although the most strenuous efforts and the most formidable threats were employed by the British ministers to free the governor himself from the same dependence, they were never able to prevail with the assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of royal prerogative.

In all the provinces of North America, and especially in those of New England, there existed at this period, and for a long time afterwards, a mixture of very opposite sentiments towards Great Britain. As the posterity of Englishmen, the colonists cherished a warm attachment to a land which they habitually termed the *Mother Country* or *Home*,¹ and to a

laws to England. On a complaint from an inhabitant of Connecticut, aggrieved by the operation of a particular law, it was declared by the king in council, "that their law, concerning dividing land-inheritance of an intestate, was contrary to the law of England, and void"; but the colony paid no regard to this declaration. — *History of the British Dominions in North America.*

¹ They have left one indestructible mark of their origin, and their kindly remembrance of it, in the British names which they extended to American places. When New London, in Connecticut, was founded in the year 1648, the assembly of the province assigned its name by an act commencing with the following preamble: — "Whereas it hath been the commendable practice of the inhabitants of all the colonies of these parts, that, as this country hath its denomination from our dear native country of England, and thence is called New England, so the planters, in their first settling of most new plantations, have given names to these plantations of some cities and towns in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note there," &c., "this court, considering that there hath yet no place in any of the colonies been named in memory of the city of London," &c. — Trumbull.

"Certus enim promisit Apollo

Ambiguum tellure nova Salamina futuram." — Horace.

people whom, though contemporaries with themselves, they regarded as holding an ancestral relation to them. As Americans, their liberty and happiness, and even their national existence, were associated with the idea of escape from royal persecution in Britain; and the jealous and unfriendly sentiments engendered by this consideration were preserved, more particularly in Massachusetts, by the unjust abridgment of the privileges which she had originally enjoyed, and which still subsisted unimpaired in Connecticut and Rhode Island; and were maintained in every one of the provinces by the oppressive commercial policy which Great Britain pursued towards them, and of which their increasing resources rendered them increasingly sensible and proportionally impatient. The loyalty of Connecticut and Rhode Island was in no degree promoted by the preservation of their ancient charters, — an advantage which they well knew had been yielded to them with the utmost reluctance by the British government, and of which numerous attempts to divest them by act of parliament were made by King William and his immediate successors. Even the new charter of Massachusetts was not exempted from such attacks; and the defensive spirit that was thus excited and kept alive by the aggressive policy of Britain contributed, no doubt, to influence, in a material degree, the subsequent destinies of America.

In return for the articles which they required from Europe, and of which the English merchants monopolized the supply, the inhabitants of New England could offer no staple commodity which might not be obtained more cheaply in Europe by their customers. They possessed, indeed, good mines of iron and copper, which might have been wrought with advantage; but the manufacture of these metals in the colonies was obstructed by the dearness of labor; and till the year 1750, the export of American iron, even to the mother country, was restrained by heavy duties. The principal commodities exported from New England were the produce and refuse of her forests, or, as it was commonly termed, lumber, and the produce of her cod-fishery. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual imports into these provinces from Britain were estimated by Neal at £100,000. The exports by the English merchants consisted of a

hundred thousand quintals (the quintal weighing one hundred and twelve pounds) of dried codfish, which were sold in Europe for £ 80,000, and of three thousand tons of naval stores. To the other American plantations, and to the West Indies, New England sent lumber, fish, and other provisions, valued at £ 50,000 annually. An extensive manufacture of linen cloth was established about this time in New England; — an advantage for which this country was indebted to the migration of many thousands of Irish Presbyterians to her shores about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ship-building was from an early period carried on to a considerable extent at Boston and other seaport towns. It was the practice of some merchants to freight their vessels, as soon as they were built, with cargoes of colonial produce, and to sell the vessels in the ports where the cargoes were disposed of. The manufacture of tar was promoted for some time in New Hampshire by an ordinance of the assembly of this province in the beginning of the eighteenth century, which allowed the inhabitants to pay their taxes in tar rated at twenty shillings per barrel. A great part of the trade of the other American colonies was conducted by the shipping of New England. For many years both before and after the present era, specie was so scarce in this quarter of America, that paper money formed almost exclusively the circulating medium in use among the inhabitants. Bills, or notes, were circulated for sums as low as half-a-crown.¹

The progress of population in the district of Maine was remarkably slow. For many years after its first colonization, the greater number of the emigrants to this region were not husbandmen, but traders and fishermen, — a description of persons qualified neither by their views nor their habits to promote the culture and population of a desert. The soil of a great part of Maine was erroneously supposed, by the first European colonists, to be ungrateful to tillage, and incapable of yielding a sufficient supply of bread to its inhabitants. This notion produced the deficiency which it presupposed; and, injurious as it was to the increase and prosperity of the inhabitants, it prevailed even till the period of the American Revolution. Prior to this event,

¹ Neal. Belknap. Wynne. Raynal. Douglass. Winterbotham.

the greater part of the bread consumed in the district of Maine was imported from the middle colonies.¹ New England was long infested with wolves ; and at the close of the seventeenth century, laws were still enacted by the provincial assemblies, offering bounties for the destruction of those animals.²

Except in Rhode Island, the system of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical order embraced by the Congregational church established by the first colonists prevailed generally in New England. Every township was required by law to choose a minister, and to fix his salary by mutual agreement of the parties ; in default of which, a salary proportioned to the ability of the township was decreed to him by the justices of the peace. In case of the neglect of any township to appoint a minister within a certain period of time prescribed by law, the right of appointment for the occasion devolved on the Court of Quarter Sessions. By a special custom of the town of Boston, the salaries of its ministers were derived from the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, collected every Sunday on their assembling for divine service ; and it was remarked that none of the ministers of New England were so liberally provided for as those whose emoluments, undetermined by legal provision, thus represented the diligence of their labors, and the conscientious regard of their people.³ In Rhode Island there was no legal provision for the celebration of divine worship, or the maintenance of religious institutions. This colony was peopled by a mixed multitude of sectarians, who, having separated from Christian societies in other places, had continued ever since in a broken and disunited state. In their political capacity, the inhabitants of Rhode Island admitted unbounded liberty of conscience, and disavowed all connection between church and state. In their Christian relations, they made no account of the virtue of mutual forbearance, and absolutely disowned the duty of submitting to one another on any point, whether essential or circumstantial. Few of them held regular assemblies for public worship ; still fewer had stated places for such assemblage ; and an aversion to every thing that savored

¹ Sullivan's *History of Maine*. Dwight's *Travels*.

² Trumbull. *Ordinances of New England to the Year 1700*. Chalmers.

³ Neal.

of *restraint* or *formality* prevailed among them all. Notwithstanding the unlimited toleration that was professedly established in this settlement, its rulers, in 1665, passed an ordinance to outlaw Quakers and confiscate their estates, because they refused to bear arms. But the people, in general, resisted this regulation, and would not suffer it to be executed.¹ Cotton Mather declares, that, in 1655, "Rhode Island colony was a colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, and every thing but Roman Catholics and true Christians; *bona terra, mala gens*." In the town of Providence, which was included in this colony, and was inhabited by the descendants of those schismatics who accompanied Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson in their exile from Massachusetts, the aversion to legal establishments and every species of subordination was carried to such an extreme, that, at the present period, the inhabitants had neither magistrates nor ministers among them. They entertained an invincible antipathy to all rates and taxes, as devices invented for the benefit of *hirelings*, — by which opprobrious term they designated all civil and ecclesiastical functionaries who refused to serve them for nothing. Yet they lived in great amity with their neighbours, and, though every man did whatever seemed right in his own eyes, it was seldom that any crime was committed among them; "which may be attributed," says the historian from whom this testimony is derived, "to their great veneration for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read, from the least to the greatest."² Massachusetts and Connecticut, as they were

¹ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* In the year 1688, an inhabitant of Rhode Island was "fined by the Quarter Sessions for planting a peach-tree on Sunday." This occurred during the administration of Andros. *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society.*

² Neal. We have an account of the religious condition of Rhode Island, about thirty years after the period to which we have conducted the separate history of New England, from the pen of the great and good Bishop Berkeley, who resided some years in this colony. A general indifference to religion, and a great relaxation of morality, had then become the characteristics of the majority of the people. Several churches, however, some on the Congregational, and others on the Episcopal model, had been established; and through their instrumentality, the blessings of religion were yet preserved in the colony. *Berkeley's Works.*

"So little," says a writer much esteemed in America, "has the civil authority to do with religion in Rhode Island, that no contract between a minister and a society (unless incorporated for that purpose) is of any force. It is probably for these reasons that so many sects have ever been found here; and that the Sabbath and all religious institutions, as well as good morals, have been

the most considerable of the New England States in respect of wealth and population, so were they the most distinguished for piety, morality, and the cultivation and diffusion of knowledge. At the close of the seventeenth century, there were a hundred religious assemblies in Massachusetts, exclusive of numerous congregations of Christian Indians.¹ The censorial discipline exercised by these societies over their members was highly conducive to the preservation of sound morality, guarded by exact and sober manners; and the efficacy of this and of every other incitement to virtue was enhanced by the thinly peopled state of the country, where no person could screen his character or pursuits from the observation of the public eye.

Perhaps no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry reigned among all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were extremely strict, and not less strictly enforced;² and, being cordially supported by the executive

less regarded in this than in any other of the New England States." Jedediah Morse.

So late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the legislature of Rhode Island discouraged the project of a turnpike road, alleging that turnpike duties and ecclesiastical establishments were *English practices*, and badges of slavery, — from which their people were distinguished above all the other Americans by a happy exemption. It was not till the year 1805 that the advantages of turnpike roads prevailed over the imaginary dignity of this exemption. — Dwight.

It would be well for the Americans, if, in the system of management which they adopt with regard to roads and canals they would ponder and avoid the monstrous vices inherent in the style of those *English practices* to which the people of Rhode Island were opposed. No municipal government in the world has greater reason than the American to dread the evil effects of those vices; and from its popular structure, none is so well fitted to adopt the only means of effectually preventing or eradicating them. This important subject is strikingly elucidated in Sir Henry Parnell's *Treatise on Roads*, but especially in *A Treatise on Internal Intercourse and Communication in Civilized States*, by Thomas Grahame, brother of the author of this *History*.

¹ Neal.

² Josselyn, who visited New England, for the first time, in 1638, relates, that in the village of Boston there were then two licensed inns. "An officer visits them," he adds, "whenever a stranger goes into them; and if he calls for more drink than the officer thinks in his judgment he can soberly bear away, he countermands it, and appoints the proportion, beyond which he cannot get one drop." Josselyn's *Voyage*. In 1694, the selectmen of the several towns in Massachusetts were ordered to hang up in every alehouse lists of all *reputed* tipplers and drunkards within their districts; and alehouse-keepers were forbidden to supply liquor to any person whose name was thus posted. Holmes. The magistrates of some of the towns of Scotland exercised similar acts of authority. An instance occurred in the town of Rutherglen in 1668. Ure's *History of Rutherglen*.

principle of public opinion, they rendered every vicious and profligate excess alike dangerous and discreditable to the perpetrator. We are assured by a well informed writer, that at this period there was not a single beggar in the whole province ; and a person of unquestioned veracity, who resided in it for seven years, relates, that during all that period he never heard a profane oath, nor witnessed an instance of inebriety.¹ Labor was so valuable, land so cheap, and the elective franchise so widely extended, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country. The general diffusion of education caused the national advantages, which were vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated ; and a steady and ardent patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other and to their country.

The condition of society in New England, the circumstances and habits of the people, tended to form among their leading men a character more solid than brilliant :— not (as some have imagined) to discourage the cultivation or exercise of talent, but to repress its idle display, and train it to its legitimate and respectable end, of giving efficacy to wisdom, prudence, and virtue. Yet this state of society was by no means incompatible either with politeness of manners or with innocent hilarity. Lord Bellamont was agreeably surprised with the graceful and courteous behaviour of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut, and confessed that he found the manners and address which he had thought peculiar to feudal *nobility* in a land where this aristocratical distinction was unknown.² From Dunton's account of his residence in Boston in 1686, it appears that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were at that time distinguished in a very high degree by their cheerful vivacity, their hospitality, and a courtesy the more estimable that it was indicative of genuine benevolence.³ From the circumstances of the country, it is impossible to suppose that the manners of its inhabitants could exhibit that perfection of exterior polish and factitious elegance generated in old societies by leisure, wealth, and the necessity of refining the means of procuring social distinction. But if (as

¹ Neal. Trumbull.

² Trumbull. *Dwight's Travels*.

³ Dunton's *Life and Errors*. Dunton, who was familiar with the tables of the rich in London, was yet struck with the plenty and elegance of the entertainments he witnessed in Boston.

has been finely suggested by an ingenious American, in reference to a later period in his country), "in the equal intercourse of all classes, the higher had some degree of polish rubbed off, the humbler were gainers by what the others lost"; and while the absence of unsuitable pretensions and mean competitions banished the most copious source of vulgarity, the diffusion of literary taste and of liberal piety supplied an influence amply sufficient to soften and ennoble human manners. Elegance may consist with great plainness of external circumstances; nay, in proportion as it is unaided by exterior trapping and decoration, its origin seems the more pure and exalted, and its excellence the more genuine and durable. It was a remark of the great Prince of Condé, that the New Testament displayed the most perfect model of a kind and graceful politeness that he had ever met with. Good manners consist in conducting ourselves towards every person with a demeanour graciously expressive of the relation which he holds to ourselves and others. Christianity at once affords the justest, the most endearing, and most enlarged view of the relations of human beings to each other, and enforces by the strongest sanctions the duties and courtesies which these relations infer. Men devoted to the service of God, like the first generations of the inhabitants of New England, carried throughout their lives an elevated strain of sentiment and purpose, which must have communicated some portion of its own grace and dignity to their manners.

In the historical and statistical accounts of the various provinces¹ we continually meet with instances of the beneficial influence exercised by superior minds on the virtue, industry, and happiness of particular districts and infant settlements. In no country has the ascendancy of talent been greater, or been more advantageously exerted. The dangers of Indian invasion were encountered and repelled; the dejection and timidity produced by them, surmounted; the feuds and contentions peculiarly incident to newly formed societies of men, collected from different countries, and varying in race, habits, and opinions, were composed; the temptations to slothful and degenerate modes of living, resisted; the self-denial requisite to the endowment of in-

¹ See, in particular, the *Histories* of Trumbull and Belknap, and the *Travels* of Dwight, *passim*.

stitutions for preaching the gospel and the education of youth, resolutely practised. In founding and conducting to maturity the new settlements that progressively arose, men of talent and virtue enjoyed a sphere of noble employment. They taught both by action and example. They distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind by excelling them in their common pursuits, and exercising a manifest superiority of understanding on the ordinary subjects of human reflection and consideration. They exemplified a species of dignity at once the most substantial and the most generally attainable ; which depends not on opportunities of performing remarkable deeds, but consists in discharging the ordinary duties of life with a generous elevation of sentiment and view. They read their history in the approving eyes, and improving manners and condition, of a free and happy people. Mankind have a greater aptitude to copy characters than to yield obedience to precepts ; and virtue is much more effectually recommended to their imitation and esteem by the exhibition of zeal than by the force of argument. Let the votaries of glory remember, that, if a life thus spent circumscribe the diffusion of the patriot's name, it extends the influence of his character and sentiments to distant generations ; and that, if posthumous fame be any thing more than a brilliant illusion, it is such distinction as this from which the surest and most lasting satisfaction will be derived.

The esteem of the community was considered so valuable a part of the emoluments of public office, that the salaries of all municipal officers, except those who were appointed by the crown, were, if not scanty, yet exceedingly moderate. In Connecticut, where the public expenditure, without being sordidly or unjustly abridged, was contracted to the greatest exactness of thrift, it was remarked, that the whole annual expense of its public institutions (about £ 800) did not amount to the salary of a royal governor.¹ The slender emoluments of public offices, and the tenure of popular pleasure by which they were held, tended very much to exempt them from the pretensions of unworthy candidates, and those who were invested with them from calumny and envy. Virtue and ability

¹ Trumbull.

were fairly appreciated ; and we frequently find the same individuals reëlected for a long series of years to the same offices,¹ and in some instances succeeded by their sons, when inheritance of merit recommended inheritance of dignity. In more than one of the settlements, the first codes of law were the composition of single persons ; the people desiring an eminent citizen to compose for them a body of laws, and then legislating unanimously in conformity with his suggestions. The estimation and the disinterestedness of public services were not unfrequently attested by legislative appropriations of public money to defray the funeral charges of men who for many years had enjoyed the highest official dignities. The public respect for distinguished patriots, though not perpetuated by titles of nobility, was preserved in the recollection of their actions, and stimulated, instead of relaxing, the ardor of their descendants. The virtue of remarkable benefactors of their country was more diffusively beneficial from their never being disjoined from the main trunk of the community by titular distinctions. Remaining incorporated with the general order of citizens, their merit more visibly reflected honor upon it, than if they had been advanced to an imaginary eminence, tending to engender in themselves or their descendants contempt for the mass of their countrymen.

The most lasting, if not the most effectually pernicious, evil with which New England has been afflicted, was the institution of slavery, which continued till a late period to pollute all its

¹ In the year 1634, the people of Massachusetts having elected a particular individual to the office of governor, in place of Winthrop, who had previously enjoyed this dignity, their conduct was censured by John Cotton, who, in a sermon preached before the General Court, maintained that a magistrate ought not to be reduced to the condition of a private individual, without some cause of complaint publicly established against him. This curious proposition was discussed by the Court, and "referred for farther consideration." — Winthrop's *Journal*.

Strikingly applicable to the early magistrates of New England is the following description, by a great German writer, of the regents or judges of Israel. "They were not only simple in their manners, moderate in their desires, and free from avarice and ambition, but noble and magnanimous men, who felt that whatever they did for their country was above all reward, and could not be recompensed ; who desired merely to promote the public good, and who chose rather to deserve well of their country than to be enriched by its wealth. This exalted patriotism was partly of a religious character ; and these regents always conducted themselves as the officers of God." — Jahn's *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*.

provinces, and lingered the latest, though to a very slight extent, in the province of New Hampshire.¹ The practice, as we have seen, originated in the supposed necessity created by Indian hostilities ; but, once introduced, it was banefully calculated to perpetuate itself, and to derive accessions from various other sources. For some time, indeed, this was successfully resisted ; and instances have been recorded of judicial interposition to confine the mischief within its original limits. In the year 1645, a negro, fraudfully brought from Africa, and enslaved within the New England territory, was liberated by the magistrates and sent back to his native country.² No law expressly authorizing slavery was ever enacted by any of the New England States ; and such was the influence of religious and moral feeling in all these States, that, even while there was no law prohibiting the continuance of slavery, it never succeeded in gaining any considerable prevalence. To this end the qualities and produce of the soil coöperated with the moral sentiments of the people, who were not exposed to the same temptations to the employment of slave labor that presented themselves in the Southern provinces of America. By the early laws of Connecticut, man-stealing was declared a capital crime. In the year 1703, the assembly of Massachusetts imposed a duty of four pounds on every negro imported into the province ; and nine years after, passed an act prohibiting the importation of any more Indian servants or slaves.³ In

¹ The assembly of this province, as early as the reign of George the First, passed a law, enacting, that, "if any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man or maid servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them, he shall let him or her go free from his service, and shall allow such farther recompense as the Court of Quarter Sessions shall adjudge"; and that, "if any person kill his Indian or negro servant, he shall be punished with death." The slaves in this province are said to have been treated in all respects like white servants. Warden's *United States*. By an act of the legislature of Rhode Island, in the year 1704, all negroes and Indians were prohibited from being abroad after nine o'clock of the evening. *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*. Yet Rhode Island writers eagerly vaunt the superior equity of the treatment experienced by the Indians from their countrymen.

² Belknap.

³ *Blue Laws of Connecticut*. Holmes. "In the early part of the eighteenth century, Judge Sewell, of New England, came forward as a zealous advocate for the negroes. He addressed a memorial to the legislature, which he entitled *The Selling of Joseph*, and in which he pleaded their cause both as a lawyer and a Christian. This memorial produced an effect upon many, but particularly upon those of his own religious persuasion." Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*.

Massachusetts, the slaves never exceeded the fiftieth part of the whole population ; in Connecticut and Rhode Island, when slaves were most numerous (about the middle of the eighteenth century), the proportion was nearly the same ; and in the territory that afterwards received the name of Vermont, when the number of inhabitants amounted to nine thousand, there were only sixteen persons in a state of slavery.¹ The cruelties and vices that slavery tends to produce were repressed at once by so great a preponderance of the sound over the unhealthy part of the body politic, and by the moral circumstances to which this preponderance was owing. The majority of the inhabitants were decidedly hostile to slavery ; and numerous remonstrances were addressed to the British government against the encouragement she afforded to it by supporting the slave-trade. When North America attained independence, the New England States adopted measures, which, in the course of a few years, effected the abolition of this vile institution.²

¹ Warden. Winterbotham's *America*. Dwight.

² There is a strange, I hope not a disingenuous, indistinctness in the statements of some writers respecting the negro slavery of New England. Winterbotham, writing in 1795, asserts that "there are no slaves in Massachusetts. If he meant that a law had been passed which denounced and was gradually extinguishing slavery, he was right ; but the literal sense of his words is contradicted by Warden's *Tables*, which demonstrate that fifteen years after (the law not yet having produced its full effect) there were several thousand slaves in Massachusetts. Dwight relates his travels, in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, through every part of New England, without giving us the slightest reason to suppose that such beings as slaves existed in any one of its provinces, except when he stops to defend the legislature of Connecticut from an imputation on the manner in which her share of the abolition of slavery had been conducted. It was actually conducted in a style the most tenderly regardful of the iniquitous interests of the whites, and disdainfully negligent of the just rights of the negroes. Warden himself says, in one page, that "slavery no longer exists in New England," even while, in another, he admits and seeks to palliate the occurrence of its lingering traces in New Hampshire.

It is easier to commit than to repair injustice. Obstinate and protracted are its consequential evils. Hatred, contempt, and ill-usage of the negro race have long continued, in New England and other of the North American communities, to survive the abolition of negro slavery within their limits. See Note XXI., at the end of Vol. IV.

NOTES.

NOTES

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

NOTE I. Page 18.

THE important instruction, both moral and political, which may be derived from a consideration of the origin of the slave-trade, is forcibly depicted by that distinguished philanthropist (Thomas Clarkson) whose virtue promoted, and whose genius has recorded, the abolition of this detestable traffic. It is a remarkable fact, that the pious and benevolent Las Casas, actuated by an earnest desire to emancipate the feeble natives of South America from the bondage of the Spanish colonists, was the first person who proposed to the government of Spain the importation of negroes from Africa to America. His proposition was rejected by Cardinal Ximenes, who considered it unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, and was, moreover, struck with the moral inconsistency of delivering the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery, by transferring it to the inhabitants of another. "After the death of Cardinal Ximenes, the Emperor Charles the Fifth encouraged the slave-trade. In 1517, he granted a patent to one of his Flemish favorites, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Africans into America. But he lived long enough to repent of what he had thus inconsiderately done. For in the year 1542, he made a code of laws for the better protection of the unfortunate Indians in his foreign dominions; and he stopped the progress of African slavery by an order that all slaves in his American islands should be made free." This order was subsequently defeated by his own retirement into a monastery; but "it shows he had been ignorant of what he was doing, when he gave his sanction to this cruel trade. It shows, when legislators give one set of men an undue power over another, how quickly they abuse it; or he never would have found himself obliged, in the short space of twenty-five years, to undo that which he had countenanced as a great state measure. And while it confirms the former lesson to statesmen, of watching the beginnings or principles of things, in their political movements,

it should teach them never to persist in the support of evils, through the false shame of being obliged to confess that they had once given them their sanction; nor to delay the cure of them, because, politically speaking, neither this nor that is the proper season; but to do them away instantly, as there can be only one fit or proper time in the eye of religion, namely, on the conviction of their existence." — Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*.

Louis the Thirteenth of France was at first staggered by the same scruples of conscience that prevailed with the Emperor Charles, and could not be persuaded to authorize the slave-trade till he was induced to believe that he would promote the religious conversion of the negroes by suffering them to be transported to the colonies. — Ibid.

NOTE II. Page 55.

CAPTAIN SMITH was so obnoxious to the leading patentees, that, even if he had remained in the colony, it is highly improbable that they would ever again have intrusted him with official authority. They neither rewarded nor reëmployed him after his return to England. They were bent on deriving immediate supplies of gold or rich merchandise from Virginia; and ascribed their disappointment in a great measure to his having restricted his views to the establishment of a solid and respectable frame of provincial society. This is apparent from many passages of his writings, and particularly from his letter to the patentees while he held the presidency. An honester but absurder reason, that prompted some of them to oppose his pretensions to office, was, that certain fortune-tellers had predicted that he would be unlucky; a prediction that sometimes contributes to its own fulfilment.

In various parts of his history, Smith applies himself to refute their unreasonable charges, and account for the disappointment of their expectations. For this purpose he has drawn a parallel between the circumstances of the Spanish and the English colonists of America. "It was the Spaniards' good hap," he observes, "to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence it afforded victuals at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, that they had the use of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those countries afforded: so that what the Spaniards got was chiefly the spoil and pillage of those country people, and not the labors of their own hands. But had these fruitful countries been as savage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, labored, and manured, as Virginia, their proper labors, it is likely, would have produced as small profit as ours. And had Virginia been peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious jewels and rich commodities as were the Indies; then, had

we not gotten and done as much as, by their examples, might be expected from us, the world might then have traduced us and our merits, and have made shame and infamy our recompense and reward."

Were we to confine our attention to the superficial import of this isolated passage, it would be difficult not to suppose that this excellent person was deterred less by want of inclination than by lack of opportunity from imitating the robberies and cruelties of the Spanish adventurers. But the general strain of his book, as well as the more credible evidence supplied by the whole scope and tenor of his life, would fully refute the unjust supposition. That he was unacquainted with the enormities committed by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru may be collected from the praises he bestows on their exploits, and from his appealing to the glory of these exploits as an incentive that should stimulate the ardor of the English in the exercise of laborious virtue, and the prosecution of humble but honest emolument in North America. Thus nobly we find him expressing the sentiments of a mind which the condition of humanity did not exempt from being deceived, but which piety preserved from gross depravation or perversion: — "Who can desire more content, that hath small means, or but only his merit, to advance his fortunes, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do less hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ and humanity, whose labors with discretion will triple thy charge and pains? What so truly suits with honor and honesty as the discovering things unknown, erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue, and gaining to our mother country a kingdom to attend her; finding employment for those that are idle because they know not what to do; so far from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and, remembering thee, ever to honor that remembrance with praise?" It is probably such expressions as these that have led certain writers to charge Smith with *enthusiasm*, — a term by which some persons denote every elevation of view and tone that religion imparts, — and by which many others designate every quality and sentiment above the pitch of their own nature.

Smith proceeds as follows: — "Then who would live at home idly, or think in himself any worth to live, only to eat, drink, and sleep, and so die; or consuming that carelessly his friends got worthily, or using that miserably that maintained virtue honestly; or, being descended nobly, pine, with the vain vaunt of great kindred, in penury; or, to maintain a silly show of bravery, toil out thy heart, soul, and time basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice;

or, by relating news of other men's actions, shark here and there for a dinner or supper," &c., "though thou seest what honors and rewards the world yet hath for them that will seek them and worthily deserve them?" He adds, shortly after, "It would be a history of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portugals, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries, which, with such incomparable honor and constant resolution, so far beyond belief, they have attempted and endured, in their discoveries and plantations, as may well condemn us of too much imbecility, sloth, and negligence. Yet the authors of these new inventions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that but seek to imitate their unparalleled virtues."

I should contend neither wisely nor honestly for the fame of Captain Smith, were I to represent him as a faultless character, perfectly divested of the imperfections of humanity. The sufferings of others were able to provoke him to an intemperance, at least of language, which none of his own trials and provocations ever elicited, and with which none of his actions ever corresponded. Indignant at the cruel massacre of the Virginian colonists in 1622, long after he had left them, he pronounced in haste and anger that the colony could not be preserved without subduing or expelling the Indians, and punishing their perfidious cruelty, as the Spaniards had punished "the treacherous and rebellious infidels" in South America. These expressions afford a farther proof of the very imperfect acquaintance he had with the real circumstances that attended the subjugation of South America by the Spaniards. "Notwithstanding such a stern and invincible resolution as Captain Smith displayed," says an intelligent historian of Virginia, "there was seldom seen a milder and more tender heart than his was." Stith.

Smith expatiates at great length, and with much spirit and ability, on the advantages of colonial establishments in America; and propounds a variety of inducements to embark in them, appropriate to the various classes of society in England. Colonies he characterizes as schools for perpetuating the hardy virtues on which the safety of every state depends. He ascribes the fall of Rome and the subjugation of Constantinople to the indolence and covetousness of the rich, who not only passed their own lives in slothful indulgence, but retained the poor in factious idleness, by neglecting to engage them in safe and useful employment; and strongly urges the wealthy capitalists of England to provide for their own security, by facilitating every foreign vent to the energies of active and indigent men. He enlarges on the pleasures incident to a planter's life, and illustrates his description by the testimony of his own experience. "I have not been so ill-bred," he declares, "but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery. And lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it than I should do there to gain wealth sufficient; and yet I think they should not have half

such sweet content." To *gentlemen* he proposes, among other inducements, the pleasures of fishing, fowling, and hunting, to an unbounded extent; and to *laborers*, the blessings of a vacant soil of unequalled cheapness and unsurpassed fertility. He promises no mines to tempt sordid avarice, nor conquests to allure profligate ambition; but the advantages of a temperate clime and of a secure and exhaustless subsistence,—the wealth that agriculture may extract from the land, and fisheries from the sea. "Therefore," he concludes, "honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanness of the word *fish* distaste you; for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potosi, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."

I have given but a mere outline of Smith's exposition of this subject. The details with which he has filled it up are highly interesting and well deserving of perusal. I think there can be no doubt that he has treated the subject of colonization with more both of the practical skill of a politician and the profound sagacity of a philosopher, than Lord Bacon has shown in either or both of his productions, the *Essay on Plantations*, and the *Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland*.

The name of Smith has not yet gathered all its fame. The lustre it once possessed is somewhat obscured by time, and by the circumstances that left America so long to depend on England for the sentiments and opinions that literature preserves or produces, and consequently led her to rate her eminent men rather by the importance of their achievements in the scale of British than of American history. But Smith's renown will break forth again, and once more be commensurate with his desert. It will grow with the growth of men and letters in America; and whole nations of its admirers have yet to be born. As the stream becomes more illustrious, the springs will be reckoned more interesting.

Smith was born in the year 1579, and died on the 21st of June, 1631.

NOTE III. Page 60.

ROBERTSON'S credit as a historian is not a little impeached by the strange inaccuracy of his account of Sir Thomas Dale's administration. He not only imputes to the Company the composition and introduction of the arbitrary code transmitted by Sir Thomas Smith, but unfolds at length the (imaginary) reasons that prevailed with them to adopt a measure so harsh and sanguinary; though of this measure itself they are expressly acquitted by Stith, the only authority on the subject that exists, and the very authority to whom Robertson himself refers. Among the other reasons which he assigns is the advice of Lord Bacon, which he unhesitatingly charges this eminent person with having communicated, and

the Company with having approved. In support of an accusation so distinct and so remarkable, he refers merely to a passage in Lord Bacon's *Essay on Plantations*. It would be well for the fame of Bacon, if all the charges with which his character is loaded were supported only by such evidence. For, *supposing* (which is doubtful) that this essay was published before the collection of Sir Thomas Smith's system of martial law, and *supposing* it to have been read by the compiler of that system, it is surely more than doubtful if the passage alluded to would yet support Dr. Robertson's imputation. It merely recommends that a provincial government should "have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation"; a power inseparable from such, and indeed from every system of government. The twenty-fourth section of King James's second charter to the Company had already invested the provincial governors with "full power and authority to use and exercise martial law, in cases of mutiny or rebellion"; and the preceding section of the same charter authorizes them, "in case of necessity," to rule, correct, and punish, according to their own "good discretions." No blame can attach to the bare authorization of an extraordinary power, reserved in every society, for extraordinary occasions. What alone seems deserving of blame is Sir Thomas Smith's violent and illegal substitution of the most sanguinary code of martial law that was ever framed, in the room of the original constitution, and for the ordinary government of the colony; and Dr. Robertson's very hasty and unfounded imputation of this measure to the act of the council and the advice of Lord Bacon. It had been well, if the council had paid more attention to the maxim of this great man, that "Those who plant colonies must be endowed with great patience."

NOTE IV. Page 149.

AN illustration of this remark may perhaps be derived from the apologetic theory philosophical slave-owners have introduced into the world, — that the negroes are a separate and inferior race of men; a notion by which the degradation that human beings inflict on their fellows, in reducing them to the level of the brute creation, is charged upon God, whose word assures us that he created man after his own image, and that he fashioned all souls alike. Interest and pride harden the heart; a deceived heart perverts the understanding; and men are easily persuaded to consider those as brutes whom they deem it convenient to treat as such. The best refutation of this theory that I have ever seen is the production of an American writer. It occurs in Dr. S. Smith's interesting *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Figure and Complexion in the Human Species*. See, also, on the same subject, Clarkson's *Researches, Antediluvian, Patriarchal, &c.*

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Mr. Jefferson has contended for the natural inferiority of negroes to white men. But I was assured by the Abbé Grégoire (formerly Bishop of Blois), that Jefferson, in a private letter to him, confessed that he had seen cause to alter this opinion. Anthony Benezet, the Quaker, himself a very ingenious and accomplished man, who had conversed extensively with negroes in America, and undertaken the education of a great number of them, pronounced, as the result of his experience, that this race is perfectly equal to the whites in all the endowments of nature; the prevalence of an opposite opinion he ascribed partly to the debasing effect of slavery on the minds of the negroes, and partly to the influence of ignorance, pride, and cruelty on those white men who, pluming themselves on a wide separation from the negroes, are incompetent to form a sound judgment on the capacities of this race. Vaux's *Life of Benezet*. Man (alas!) seems to be the only creature capable of provoking from his fellow-man such cruelty as the blacks have experienced from the whites.

Most of the advocates or apologists of slavery maintain that enslaved negroes are generally contented with their lot,—a statement, which, if correct, might well be cited in proof of the corrupting effect of slavery on ordinary minds. Who regards otherwise than with pity and contempt the depraved longings of the emancipated Israelites for a return to the ignominy of Egyptian bondage? The contentment of a slave in his degraded estate proves that *the iron has entered into his soul*. "If thou mayest be free," says an inspired Apostle, "use it rather." A distinguished American writer, whom I respect so highly as to be unwilling to name him on the present occasion, has so far misused his admirable ingenuity as to maintain that slavery may prove a blessing to the country in which it exists, and elevate human character, by affording opportunity to the masters of generous self-control, and to the slaves of grateful recognition of the indulgent forbearance of their masters. To be consistent (an impossibility to a North American advocate of slavery), this accomplished writer should demand an alteration of the Lord's prayer, and, instead of the petition, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," propose as our orison, "Let us fall into temptation, that we may deliver ourselves from evil."

Many Americans, while they cling to the vile institution of negro slavery (asserting, with horrible sophistry, the *sacredness* of a man's pretension to an artificial right of property in the violent privation of another man's natural right of property in his own liberty), are eager to impute its existence, or at least its extent, among them, to the policy and conduct of the British government, in encouraging the slave-trade, and disregarding the remonstrances against it that were addressed to them by certain of the American provinces. But they urge this apologetic plea a great deal too far. Britain could not *force* her colonial offspring to become slaveholders, though she might (and did) facilitate their acquisition of slaves.

“Every man,” says the word of God, “is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed.” By far the greater part of the remonstrances unsuccessfully addressed to the British government were the suggestions of men who themselves possessed abundance of slaves, and who were desirous of preventing others from rivalling them in wealth, and from endangering the stability of slavery, by additional importations of negroes unaccustomed to the yoke. I have heard many slave-owners vehemently profess a sincere desire to discover some *practicable* plan of abolishing slavery; but almost invariably found that they required the *impracticability* of repairing long and enormous injustice without any atoning sacrifice or reparatory expense.

NOTE V. Page 200.

CHALMERS and Robertson have ascribed the slow increase of the colonists of New Plymouth to “the unsocial character of their religious confederacy.” As the charge of entertaining antisocial principles was preferred against the first Christians by men who plumed themselves on exercising *hospitality to the gods of all nations*, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of this imputation against the American colonists, if we would know whether it be praise or blame that it involves. Whether, in a truly blameworthy acceptance, the charge of unsocial principles most properly belongs to these people or to their adversaries may be collected from the statements they have respectively made of the terms on which they were willing to hold a companionable intercourse with their fellow-men. Winslow, who was for some time governor of New Plymouth, in his account of the colony, declares that the faith of the people was in all respects the same with that of the reformed churches of Europe, from which they differed only in their opinion of church government, wherein they pursued a more thorough reformation. They disclaimed, however, any uncharitable separation from those with whom they differed on this point, and freely admitted the members of every reformed church to communion with them. “We ever placed,” he continues, “a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the word of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in antichristian opposition to it and persecution of it. It is true, we profess and desire to practise a separation from the world and the works of the world; and as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all whom we admit into church-fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their

sins, that neither the holy things of God nor the communion of saints may be leavened or polluted thereby." He adds, that none of the settlers who were admitted into the church of New Plymouth were encouraged, or even permitted, to insert in the declaration of their faith a renunciation of the church of England, or of any other reformed establishment. Mather. It does not appear to me that these sentiments warrant the charge of unsocial principles in any sense which a Christian will feel himself at all concerned to disclaim. Whether the adversaries of these men were distinguished for principles more honorably social or more eminently charitable may be gathered from a passage in Howel's *Familiar Letters*, where this defender of royalty and episcopacy thus expresses the sentiments of his party respecting religious differences between mankind: — "I rather pity than hate a Turk or infidel; for they are of the same metal and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ. If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." The ecclesiastical policy of the monarchs and prelates of England tendered a premium to the production of such sentiments. Howel's fervor for the church party did not survive the power of this party to reward him. After the fall of the English church and monarchy, he became the defender and panegyrist of the administration of Cromwell; though, like Waller and Dryden, he returned in the train of fortune, when she returned to his original friends.

NOTE VI. Page 237.

THE introduction of this feature into the portrait of Sir Henry Vane rests entirely on the authority of Burnet and Kennet (followed by Hume), who speak from hearsay. Ludlow, who knew Vane personally, bestows the highest praise on his imperturbable serenity and presence of mind; and, with the sympathy of a kindred spirit, describes the resolute magnanimity with which at his trial he sealed his own fate by scorning to plead, like Lambert, for his life, and gallantly pleading for the dying liberties of his country. At his execution, when some of his friends expressed resentment of the injuries that were heaped upon him, — "Alas!" said he, "what ado they keep to make a poor creature like his Saviour! I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at death, that I find it rather shrink from me than I from it. Ten thousand deaths for me, before I will defile the chastity and purity of my conscience; nor would I for ten thousand worlds part with the peace and satisfaction I have now in my heart." Perhaps the deep piety and constant negation of all merit in himself, by which the heroism of Vane was softened and ennobled, may have suggested to minds

unacquainted with these principles the imputation of constitutional timidity. At all events, this cloud, whether naturally attendant on his character or artificially raised by the envious breath of his detractors, has, from the admirable vigor of his mind and the unquestioned courage of his demeanour, served rather to embellish than to obscure the lustre of his fame.

Hugh Peters, like Sir Henry Vane, has been charged with defect of courage. Bishop Burnet, in particular, reproaches him with cowardice at his execution. Yet, in reality, his death was dignified by a courage such as Burnet never knew, and which distinguished him even among the regicides. After his fellow-sufferer, Cook, had been quartered before his face, the executioner approached him, and, rubbing his bloody hands, said, "Come, Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?" Peters answered, "I thank God I am not terrified at it; you may do your worst." Shortly before he died, addressing a friend who attended him, he said, "Return straightway to New England, and trust God there." Prefixed to a posthumous work of Peters, entitled *A dying Father's last Legacy to his Daughter*, is a poetical tribute to the author, thus concluding:—

"Yet his last breathings shall, like incense hurled
On sacred altars, so perfume the world,
That the next will admire, and, out of doubt,
Revere that torchlight which this age put out."

NOTE VII. Page 282.

THE accounts of the first conversations which the missionaries held with various tribes of these heathens abound with curious questions and observations that proceeded from the Indians in relation to the tidings that were brought to their ears. One man asked, Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as the Indians. A second, Whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language. A third proposed this question, How there could be an image of God, since it was forbidden in the second commandment. On another occasion, after Mr. Eliot had done speaking, an aged Indian started up, and with tears in his eyes asked, Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God. A second asked, How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one father. A third desired to be informed, How it came to pass that sea-water was salt and river-water fresh. Several inquired, How Judas could deserve blame for promoting the accomplishment of the purpose of God. One woman asked, Wheth-

er she was entitled to consider herself as having prayed, when she merely joined in her mind with her husband who prayed by her side. Another, If her husband's prayer signified any thing while he continued to beat his wife. Many of the converts continued to believe that the gods whom they formerly served had in reality considerable power, but were spirits subordinate to the true and only God; and when threatened with witchcraft by the Powwows for their apostasy, they said, "We do not deny your power, but we serve a greater God, who is so much above your deities that he can defend us from them, and even enable us to trample upon them all." One sachem sent for an Indian convert, and desired to know how many gods the English had. When he heard they had but one, he replied scornfully, "Is that all? I have thirty-seven. Do they suppose I would exchange so many for one?" Other sachems rejected the instructions of the missionaries with angry disdain, saying, that "the English had taken away their lands and were attempting now to make them slaves."

The efforts of missionaries among the Indians have always been obstructed by the erroneous ideas of *liberty* fondly cherished by these savages; who, professing the most exalted estimate of this blessing, and having its name continually in their mouths, have always ignorantly restricted it to a debased and impoverished sense. "The Indians are convinced," says Charlevoix, "that man is born free, that no power on earth has a right to infringe his liberty, and that nothing can compensate the loss of it; and it has been found a very difficult matter to undeceive even the Christians among them, and to make them understand how, by a natural consequence of the corruption of our nature, which is the effect of sin, an unbridled liberty of doing wrong differs very little from an obligation to commit it, because of the strength of the bias which draws us to it; and that the law which restrains us causes us to approach nearer to our original state of liberty, whilst it appears to take it from us." Charlevoix's *Travels*.

NOTE VIII. Page 300.

"GEORGE FOX," says William Penn, doubtless with especial reference to the advanced age and matured character of the subject of his description, "was a man whom God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth,—a discoverer of other men's spirits, and very much a master of his own. The reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, often struck strangers with admiration. He was civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour, very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, although a bulky person."

The character of George Fox is certainly neither justly nor generally understood in the present day. His writings are so voluminous,

and there is such a mixture of good and evil in them, that every reader finds it easy to justify his preconceived opinion, and to fortify it by appropriate quotations. His works are read by few, and wholly read by still fewer. Many derive their conception of his character from the passages which are cited from his writings by his adversaries; and of the Quakers not a few are content to judge him from the passages of a different complexion which are cited in the works of the modern writers of their own sect. I shall here sub-join a few extracts from his *Journal*, which will verify some of the remarks I have made in the text; premising this observation, that the book itself was first put into my hands by a zealous and intelligent Quaker, for the purpose of *proving* to me that it contained no such passages as some of those which I am now to transcribe from it.

Fox relates, that in the year 1648 he found his nature so completely new modelled, that "I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. The Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation and the virtues thereof may be known through the openings of that divine word of wisdom and power by which they were made." In many of the disputes which he afterwards held with ministers and doctors, he maintained that he was, and that every human being, by cultivation of the spiritual principle within his breast, might become, like him, perfectly pure and free from all dregs of sin. He relates with complacency and approbation, that, having one day addressed a congregation of people at Beverley, in Yorkshire, the audience declared afterwards that it was an angel or spirit that had suddenly appeared among them and spoken to them. He conceived himself warranted by his endowments to trample on all order and decency. One Sunday, as he approached the town of Nottingham, he tells, "I espied the great *steeple-house*; and the Lord said unto me, Thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He accordingly entered the church, and, hearing the minister announce the text, *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, and tell the people that by this was meant the Scriptures, whereby they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions, Fox adds, "I could not hold, but was made to cry out, 'O, no! it is not the Scriptures: it is the Holy Spirit.'" On another occasion,

having entered a church, and hearing the preacher read for his text, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, &c.*, Fox called out to him, "Come down, thou deceiver! dost thou bid people come freely and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the Scriptures to them?" Approaching the town of Lichfield, he declares he found himself spiritually directed to cast off his shoes, and in that condition walk through the streets, exclaiming, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" which he accordingly did. These examples are selected almost at random from numberless instances of similar proceedings recorded in his voluminous journal. Yet he strongly condemns the frantic extravagance of the *Ranters*, and relates various attempts he had made to convince them of their delusion. *Journal.*

William Penn, in the beautiful Preface which he wrote for this *Journal*, informs us that these Ranters were persons, who, "for want of staying their minds in a humble dependence upon Him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, ran out in their own imaginations, and, mixing them with these divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God." "Divers," he adds, "fell into gross and enormous practices, pretending in excuse thereof that they could without evil commit the same act which was sin in another to do." "I say," he continues, "this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to blaspheme."

Fox himself relates some horrid immoralities of the Ranters, and that he had found it necessary to publish addresses conveying assurance to the world that these deluded persons were Quakers only in name. *Journal.* He applies the epithet of Ranters to many of those who called themselves Quakers in America. Some of Fox's chief associates and coadjutors appear to have become in the end Ranters, or something worse. Of these was James Naylor, long the fellow-laborer and fellow-sufferer of Fox, and whom Fox still terms a Quaker, at the time when he was in prison for blasphemy and obscenity. Fox alludes vaguely and sorrowfully to Naylor's errors and disobedience to him. When he found that Naylor would not give heed to his rebukes, Fox told him that "the Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him." He adds, that it soon after happened to Naylor that "his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth of God that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens." *Journal.* Naylor had ridden naked into Bristol with a crew of insane followers, uttering blasphemous proclamations before him, and had gloried in the commission of abominable impurities. On his trial, he produced a woman, one Dorcas Earberry, who declared on oath that she had been dead two days, and was recalled to life by Naylor.

It is not easy to discover what part of the extravagance of Nay-

lor was condemned by Fox and the proper body of the Quakers. We find Fox relating with great approbation many wild and absurd exhibitions by which Quakers were moved, as they said, to show themselves as signs of the times. "Some," he informs us, "have been moved to go naked in the streets, and have declared amongst them that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwise abused them." *Journal*. Many such instances he relates in the *Journal*, with cordial commendation of the insane indecency of the Quakers, and the strongest reprobation of the persecutors who punished them for walking abroad in a state of corporeal nudity.

Fox taught that God did not create the devil. Yet, though the reasoning by which he defends this gross heresy would plainly seem to imply that the devil was a self-created being, there is another passage in his writings from which we may perhaps conclude that Fox's deliberate opinion was, that the devil was created by God a good spirit, but transformed himself by his own will into a wicked one. He records every misfortune that happened to any of his adversaries or persecutors as a judgment of Heaven upon them. He relates various cures of sick and wounded persons that ensued on his prayers, and on more ordinary means that he employed for their relief. It may be doubted if he himself regarded these as the exertions of miraculous power; but from many passages it is plain that they were (to his knowledge) so regarded by his followers, and the Quaker editor of his *Journal* refers to them in the Index under the head of "Miracles."

I think it not unreasonable to consider Quakerism, the growth of a Protestant country, and Quietism, which arose among Catholics, as branches of a system essentially the same; and Madame Guyon and Molinos as the counterparts of Fox and Barclay. The moral resemblance is plainer than the historical connection; but the propagation of sentiment and opinion may be effectually accomplished when it is not visibly indicated. Quietism was first engendered in Spain among a sect called the *Iluminati*, or *Alumbra-dos*, who sprang up about the year 1575. They rejected sacraments and other ordinances; and some of them became notorious for indecent and immoral extravagances. This sect was revived in France in the year 1634, but quickly disappeared under a hot persecution. It reappeared again, with a system of doctrine considerably purified (yet still inculcating the distinctive principle of exclusive teaching by an inward light and sensible impression), towards the close of the seventeenth century, both at Rome in the writings of Molinos, and in France under the auspices of Madame Guyon and Fénelon.

NOTE IX. Page 309.

BESSE, in his voluminous *Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, relates, that Lydia Wardel, of Newbury, in New England, a convert to Quakerism, found herself inwardly prompted to appear in a public assembly "in a very unusual manner, and such as was exceeding hard and self-denying to her natural disposition, she being a woman of exemplary modesty in all her behaviour. The duty and concern she lay under was that of going into their church at Newbury naked, as a token of that miserable condition which she esteemed them in." "But they, instead of religiously reflecting on their own condition, which she came in that manner to represent to them, fell into a rage and presently laid hands on her," &c. He also notices the case of "Deborah Wilson, a young woman of very modest and retired life, and of a sober conversation, having passed naked through the streets, as a sign against the cruelty and oppression of the rulers."

George Bishop, another Quaker writer, thus relates the case of Deborah Wilson. "She was a modest woman, of a retired life and sober conversation; and bearing a great burden for the hardness and cruelty of the people, she went through the town of Salem naked, as a sign; which she having in part performed, was laid hold on, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers sentenced her to be whipt." — *New England Judged*. The writings of Besse, Bishop, and some others, who were foolish enough to defend the extravagance that they had too much sense to commit, were the expiring sighs of Quaker nonsense and frenzy. They are still mentioned with respect by some modern Quakers, who praise, instead of reading them; as the sincere but frantic zeal of Loyola and Xavier is still commended by their sly successors, who have inherited the name and the manners, without the spirit that distinguished the original Jesuits. With a great proportion of its modern professors Quakerism is far less influential as a doctrinal system than as a system of manners.

Since the infancy of Quakerism, various eruptions of the primitive frenzy have occurred. But they have all been partial and short-lived. The most remarkable occurred in Connecticut in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Even in the close of that century, as I was assured by a respectable person, who was a witness of the fact, a Quaker walked naked for several days successively at Richmond, in Virginia, *as a sign of the times*. Nathaniel Prior, a worthy Quaker of London, informed me, that, at a meeting of his fellow-secretaries at which he was present, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, one member, suddenly starting up, announced that he was directed by the Spirit to walk in Lombard Street without his breeches. He was instantly disowned and expelled by the Quaker Society. The progressive diminution of Quaker extravagance has been attended with a progressive increase of acknowledged insanity among the Quakers, — in whose society the numbers of the insane bear a great-

er proportion to the whole mass than in any other Christian sect or association.

It had been well if the government of Massachusetts had inflicted punishment on the disgusting violations of decency avowed by Besse and Bishop, without extending its severity to the bare profession of Quakerism. This injustice was occasioned by the conviction that these outrages were the legitimate fruits of Quaker principles; a conviction, which, it appears, the language even of those Quakers who were themselves guiltless of outrage, tended strongly to confirm. It is only such language on the part of the Quakers that can acquit their adversaries of the ingenious inhumanity that pervades the reasoning of persecutors, and holds men responsible for all the consequences that may be logically deduced from their principles, though rejected and denied by themselves. The apology of the magistrates of New England is thus expressed by Cotton Mather: — “I appeal to all the reasonable part of mankind, whether the infant colonies of New England had not cause to guard themselves against these dangerous villains. It was also thought that the very Quakers themselves would say, that, if they had got into a corner of the world, and with immense toil and charge made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have New Englanders come among them and interrupt their public worship, and endeavour to seduce their children from it; yea, and repeat such endeavours after mild entreaties first, and then just banishments to oblige their departure.” Yet Mather deplores and condemns the extreme severities which were ultimately inflicted by his countrymen upon the Quakers. It was one of the privileges of Israel that *the people shall dwell alone*; and the expected fruition of a similar privilege was one of the motives that led the Puritans to exchange the charms of their native land for the gloom of a desolate wilderness.

A story is told by Whitelocke strongly illustrative of the singularity with which the Quakers of those times combined all that was frantic in action with all that was dignified and affecting in suffering. Some Quakers at Hasington, in Northumberland, having interrupted a minister employed in divine service, were severely beaten by the people. Instead of resisting, they went out of the church, and, falling on their knees, besought God to pardon their persecutors, who knew not what they did,—and afterwards addressing the people, so convinced them of the cruelty of their violence, that their auditors fell a quarrelling among themselves, and beat one another more than they had formerly beaten the Quakers.

The Quakers have always delighted to exaggerate the persecutions encountered by their sectarian society. An illustrious French traveller has been so far deceived by their vague declamations on this topic, as to assert that Quakers were at one time *put to the torture* in New England. Rochefoucauld's *Travels*.

NOTE X. Page 322.

UPON this occasion Cotton Mather observes : — “Such has been the jealous disposition of our New Englanders about their dearly bought privileges, and such also has been the various understanding of the people about the extent of these privileges, that, of all the agents which they have sent over unto the court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not at his return meet with some very froward entertainment among his countrymen ; and there may be the wisdom of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the malice of the evil one, acknowledged in the ordering of such temptations.”

Norton, before his departure for England, expressed a strong apprehension that the business he was required to undertake would issue disastrously to himself. Mather adds, “In the spring before his going for England, he preached an excellent sermon unto the representatives of the whole colony assembled at the court of election, wherein I take particular notice of this passage : — *Moses was the meekest man on earth ; yet it went ill with Moses, 't is said, for their sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah ? Sure I am, it killed him in a short time ! a man of as good a temper as could be expected from a mere man.*”

It might have been expected, that Norton, whose death was thus in a manner the fruit of his exertions to extend religious liberty in the colony, would have escaped the reproach of persecution. But he had given mortal offence to the Quakers by promoting the prosecutions against the Quaker enthusiasts in New England. And after his death, certain of those sectaries published at London *A Representation to King and Parliament*, wherein, pretending to report some *Remarkable Judgments upon their Persecutors*, they inserted the following passage : — “John Norton, chief priest at Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord, was smitten ; and as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died.” Mather. The Romish fables, respecting the deaths of Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and Beza, are hardly more replete with folly, untruth, and presumption, than some of these Quaker interpretations of Providence. Their authors, like many other persons involved in religious contentions, or exposed to persecution for religion's sake, mistook an ardent zeal in behalf of what they esteemed divine truth for a complete subjection of mind to the divine will, and an entire identification of their views and purposes with it ; practically regardless of their own remaining infirmity, and forgetting, that, while we continue to be clothed with humanity, we know only in part, and can see but darkly. Enlargement of view is always attended with increase of charity ; and the cultivation of our charity at once refines and enlarges our view.

NOTE XI. Page 325.

WINTHROP the younger was in the bloom of manhood, accomplished by learning and travel, and the heir of a large estate, when he readily joined with his father in promoting and accompanying an expedition of emigrants to New England. They were indeed, as Dryden said of Ormond and Ossory, "a father and a son only worthy of each other." Cotton Mather has preserved a letter written by Winthrop the elder to his son, while the one was governor of Massachusetts, and the other of Connecticut. I shall be excused for transcribing some part of an epistle so beautiful in itself, and so strikingly characteristic of the fathers of New England. "You are the chief of two families. I had by your mother three sons and three daughters; and I had with her a large portion of outward estate. These are now all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone: you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things, and learn wisdom thereby which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you: And for which, this may stay and quiet your heart, that God is able to give you more than this; and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which has here prospered so well through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself, out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself. From whence, as I do often take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not, my dear son, but let your faith be built upon his promise and faithfulness, that, as he hath carried you hitherto through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you nor forsake you. My son, the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my care has been more for thee than for myself. But I know thy prosperity depends not on my care, nor on thine own, but on the blessing of our Heavenly Father: neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's countenance through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the turnings of divine providence together, you shall find great advantage. The Lord hath brought us to a good land, a land where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and above all the blessings of the gospel, without the burden of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labor, therefore, my good son, to increase our thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for

that he hath revealed his everlasting good-will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travels abroad from being infected with the vices of those countries where thou hast been (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers). Let Him have the honor of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee favor in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land; he it is who hath given thee a gift in understanding and art; and he it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help, and many sweet children. And therefore I would have you to love him again and serve him, and trust him for the time to come."

Winthrop the elder not only performed actions worthy to be written, but produced writings worthy to be read. Yet his *Journal*, or *History*, as it has been termed in the late edition by Mr. Savage, is very inferior in spirit and interest to his *Letters*. Winthrop the younger was one of the greatest philosophers of his age, the associate of Robert Boyle and Bishop Wilkins in projecting and founding the Royal Society of London, and the correspondent of Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Kepler, Milton, Lord Napier, Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Henry Wotton, and various others of the most distinguished characters in Europe.

NOTE XII. Page 351.

AMONG many interesting and romantic adventures related by Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, Dwight, and other New England writers, as having occurred during Philip's War, there is one incident which excited much wonder and speculation at the time, and has since derived an increase of interest from the explanation which it received after the death of the individual principally concerned in it. In 1675, the town of Hadley was alarmed by the sudden approach of a body of Indians during the time of public worship, and the people were thrown into a confusion that betokened an unresisted massacre. Suddenly a grave, elderly person appeared in the midst of them. Whence he came, or who he was, nobody could tell. In his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but, putting himself at their head, rallied, instructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who were defeated and put to flight. As suddenly, the deliverer of Hadley disappeared; and the people were left in a state of perplexity and amazement, and utterly unable to account for this singular phenomenon. After his death, it was known to have been Goffe, the regicide, who dwelt somewhere in the neighbourhood, but in such deep sequestration that none except those who were intrusted with the secret were ever able to make the remotest approach to a discovery of his retreat. Whalley resided with him; and they had

some years before been joined by another of the regicides, Colonel Dixwell. They frequently changed their place of abode, and gave the name of *Ebenezer* to every spot that afforded them shelter. They had many friends both in England and in the New England States, with some of whom they maintained a close correspondence. They obtained constant and exact intelligence of every thing that passed in England, and were unwilling to resign all hopes of deliverance. Their expectations were suspended on the fulfilment of the prophecies of Scripture, which they earnestly studied. They had no doubt that the execution of the late king's judges was *the slaying of the witnesses*, in the Apocalypse, and were greatly disappointed when the year 1666 elapsed without any remarkable event; but still flattered themselves with the notion of some error in the commonly received chronology. The strict inquisition that was made for them by the royal commissioners and others renders their concealment in a country so thinly peopled, and where every stranger was the object of immediate and curious notice, truly surprising. It appears that they were befriended and much esteemed for their piety by persons who regarded the great action in which they had participated with unqualified disapprobation. Hutchinson.

NOTE XIII. Page 353.

THAT the jealousy and suspicion with which the New England States were regarded by the English court had not slumbered in the interim may be inferred from the following passages extracted from the *Journal* of John Evelyn, the author of *Sylva*, who, in the reign of Charles the Second, was one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. "26 May, 1671. What we the commissioners most insisted on was, to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them; for the condition of that colony was such that they were able to contest with all other plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation; his Majesty therefore commended this affair more expressly." "Some of our council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that colony were utterly against." "6th June. We understood they were a people almost on the brink of renouncing any dependence on the crown." "3d August. The matter in debate was, whether we should send a deputy to New England, requiring them of Massachusetts to restore such to their limits and respective possessions as had petitioned the council; this to be the open commission only, but in truth with secret instructions to inform us of the condition of those colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty, and declare for them-

selves as independent of the crown, which we were told, and which of late years made them refractory." "12th February, 1672. We also deliberated on some fit person to go as commissioner to inspect their actions in New England, and from time to time report how that people stood affected."

NOTE XIV. Page 428.

A good history of Harvard University, by its librarian, Benjamin Peirce, has been recently given to the world. In the collegiate establishment, says this author, "the substantial properties of the English universities were retained, while their pompous and imposing ceremonies were in a great measure excluded."—"The first Commencement took place on the second Tuesday of August, 1642. Upon this novel and auspicious occasion, the venerable fathers of the land, the governor, magistrates, and ministers from all parts, with others in great numbers, repaired to Cambridge, and attended, with delight, to refined displays of European learning on a spot which but just before was the abode of savages."—"In looking over the list of early benefactions to the College, we are amused when we read of a number of sheep bequeathed by one man, a quantity of cotton cloth worth nine shillings presented by another, a pewter flagon worth ten shillings by a third, a fruit-dish, a sugar-spoon, a silver-tipped jug, one great salt, one small trencher-salt, by others; and of presents or legacies amounting severally to five shillings, nine shillings, one pound, two pounds, &c., all faithfully recorded, with the names of their respective donors. How soon does a little reflection change any disposition we may have to smile into a feeling of respect and even of admiration! What, in fact, were these humble benefactions? They were contributions from the 'res angusta domi'; from pious, virtuous, enlightened penury, to the noblest of all causes, the advancement of education. The donations were small, for the people were poor; they leave no doubt as to the motives which actuated the donors; they remind us of the offering from 'every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation'; and, like the widow's mite, indicate a respect and zeal for the object, which would have done greater things, had the means been more abundant." How much nobler these humble tributes than the munificent donations of bigot or robber princes to the colleges of Europe!—"It was, perhaps, fortunate, that, for so long a period after the foundation of the College, and before many other institutions had sprung up to divide the attention of the public, this 'school of the prophets' should have experienced no individual patronage of sufficient magnitude to supersede the care and support of the community at large. Its long dependence on the whole people, by whom it was cherished with parental fondness, tended to secure and perpet-

uate their affection for the College, and even for learning itself; and to this circumstance may probably be traced, in some degree, that general interest in the cause of education for which New England has always been distinguished." Peirce.

In the course of the eighteenth century, the College was enriched by many liberal donations from individuals in Britain, as well as in America. The most notable of its British benefactors were Samuel Holden, governor of the Bank of England, a member of parliament, and a leading person among the English Dissenters, and a family named Hollis (Dissenters likewise), distinguished through successive generations for mercantile industry and opulence, and for the most generous, untiring, and judicious philanthropy. Peirce has preserved an interesting account of these and other friends and patrons of this venerable institution; remarking of the Hollises in particular, with unexaggerated encomium, that they formed "one of the most extraordinary families that Providence ever raised up for the benefit of the human race." Such were the great merchants of Britain, before they were debauched by a rage for fashionable and aristocratical distinction.

Since the foregoing note was written, I have had the pleasure of reading a far ampler and superior history of Harvard University, by its excellent and accomplished president, Josiah Quincy. If every thing else that has been written about America should perish, that work would secure to New England a glorious and imperishable name. No other country ever produced a seat of learning so honorable to its founders as Harvard University,—and never did a noble institution obtain a worthier historian. President Quincy's account of the transition of the social system of Massachusetts, from an entire and punctilious intertexture of church and state to the restriction of municipal government to civil affairs and occupations, is very curious and interesting, and admirably fills up an important void in New England's history. Son of one of the ablest and most generous champions of his country's independence, President Quincy has given additional lustre to a name renowned at Runnymede and dear to the liberty and literature of North America.

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